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Selections.

THE FREEDMEN.

Abstract of a Preliminary Report of the American Freedman's Inquiry Commission, to the Secretary of War.

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

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§ I.—NEGROES AS REFUGEES.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, EASTERN VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA.

THE Commission find, on examination, that within the above Districts, negro refugees need not be, except for a brief period, any burden on the government, but on the contrary may become auxiliaries in the prosecution of the war to the full as efficient as the same number of loyal white emigrants into the Northern States.

The evidence shows that these refugees are, with rare exceptions, loyal, faithful, able and willing to work for moderate wages, if promptly paid, docile, little given to quarrelling, cheerful, and uncomplaining.

Poor whites as well as negro refugees, arrested by the war in their ordinary course of labor, have been thrown, for a time, on the care of the government, sometimes in greater numbers than the blacks. In November last, Gen. Butler was feeding in New Orleans 32,000 whites, 17,000 of whom were British-born subjects, and only 10,000 negroes, chiefly women and children. In cases where relief has been granted to both, the poor white usually demanded and received more than the negro. At Newbern, North Carolina, last year, among 9,000 of both colors relieved, the average proportion dealt out in each of the staple articles for food was as *one* for each colored person relieved to *sixteen* for each white person thus assisted. The exact figures are given. At that time work was offered and paid for, to whites at $12 a month, to blacks at $8.

Beyond the usual amount of relief granted in all civilized communities to the indigent and disabled poor, the refugee freedmen need, except for the moment, no charitable assistance. The free colored population of Washington support their own poor without alms-house aid.

The vices of the refugees are such as appertain to slavery. Deprived of property, they do not respect its rights. Accustomed under despotic rule to shield themselves by falsehood, they lie when a lie will please a superior or avert punishment. Legally unable to form binding conjugal relations, they are incontinent.

But the testimony of intelligent superintendents is to the effect that these vices are not deeply rooted; that by a recognition of the freedman's new rights and an appeal to his self-respect, they may be gradually eradicated; for these people are eager to copy what are set before them as the duties and obligations of what they look up to as the superior race, even if these prove a restraint on the habits of license appertaining to their former condition.

An instance is given of the conscious pride with which a freedman, sworn as a witness for the first time, stood up to take the oath and delivered his testimony.

They were found quite willing, when it was proposed to them, to have the ties of husband and father legitimatized, especially by a ceremony performed in church, usually deeming it a privilege appertaining to emancipation to be married "as white folks are." With few exceptions, they show themselves prompt to acknowledge and ready to fulfil the obligations thus contracted.

As to any exceptional cases of refusal to marry when the former relationship is sufficiently proved, it is recommended, as to those under government care, that, while they should not be permitted to cohabit without marriage, the father should be required to support his children and their mother.

A system of allotment from wages, in all cases for support of families at home, is recommended, and the proper forms prepared.

Abundant evidence proves that colored refugees set a high value both on education for their children and religious instruction for themselves. At Alexandria, one of the first acts of the negroes, when they found themselves free, was to establish schools at their own expense.

As a general rule these people are more devotional than the whites. They have more resignation, more reliance on Divine Providence, but also more superstitions. These, the Commission think, should not be harshly dealt with. It is deemed more important sympathizingly to meet and encourage, in these untaught people, the religious sentiment which sways them, than to endeavor in a spirit of proselytism to replace their simple faith in the Divine goodness and protection by dogmas of a more elaborate and polemical character. Practically, as regards the Christian graces of kindness and humility, we have as much to learn from them as they from us.

Their schools, churches and physicians should be supported, in whole or in part, as soon as possible, by themselves.

Vaccination is recommended.

§ II.—NEGROES AS REFUGEES.

SOUTH CAROLINA AND FLORIDA.

The condition and the character of the slave in South Carolina differed in essential particulars from those of the slaves in Eastern Virginia and North Carolian. South Carolina is one of the States in which the system of slavery seems to have reached its furthest development, with the least modification from contact with external civilization. There it has been darkening, in its shades of inhumanity, from year to year. The Commission found conclusive evidence that, half a century since, its phases were much milder than now. It is the uniform testimony of emancipated freedmen from this State above the age of sixty that, in their youth, slavery was a merciful and considerate system compared with what it has been for thirty years past. These old men are bright and intelligent compared with the younger field hands, in many of whom a stolid, sullen despondeney attests the stupefying influence of slave-driving under its more recent phase.

One of its marked effects was in a measure to efface the chief features of the family relation. The slave did not eat with his children or their mother—"there was no time for that." Even now the freedman can hardly be broken of the life-long habit that each should clutch the dish containing his portion, and skulk off into a corner to devour it in solitude. At night all ages and both sexes herded promiscuously in huts of a single room. Girls of 15, or younger, become mothers, without any pretense of fidelity to which even a slave could give the name of marriage. The protest of the Church against such incontinency was not supported, save in exceptional cases by the master.

Some cases there were in which a slaveholder, either prompted by conviction or urged by a pious wife, suffered these connections to have a certain religious sanction; but it is evident that, as a rule, legal policy forbade the connection of sacredness or indissoluble character with a relation which to-morrow the owner might choose to break up.

As little respect was usually paid to the maternal relation as to the marital. On most plantations, pregnancy neither exempted from corporal punishment, nor (except for three, sometimes four, weeks after childbirth) from the ordinary field task. Humane masters sometimes, indeed, diminished that task as pregnancy advanced; but on the other hand, cases occurred where the negress was overtaken by the pains of labor, and gave birth to her child, in the field.

The plantation of Mr. Aiken, one of the largest in the State, was a noble exception, among others, to this general system of inhumanity.

Under such a slave system as this, where humanity is the exception, the iron enters deep into the soul. Popular songs are the expression of the inner life; and the negro songs of South Carolina are, with scarcely an exception, plaintive, despondent, and religious. When there mingles a tone of mournful exultation, it has reference to the future glories of Zion, not to worldly hopes.

In the small isolated communities in some of the Sea Islands, the father and mother being often near blood relatives, and the least valuable slaves being usually placed there because of the unhealthy climate, the negroes, as a class, are decidedly inferior to those of more northern States. North Carolina slaves sent to South Carolina complained bitterly of the change.

The South Carolina negro, however, is found, with inconsiderable exceptions, to be susceptible of reform by judicious management. He takes kindly to work, if his wages are regularly paid. A superintendent who had had 17,000 negro refugees under his care for a year past, testified that he had scarcely found a case in which a colored man, having reasonable security of moderate wages, was not ready to labor. Evidence was given that many, who, as slaves, had been deemed cripples or infirm, or superannuated, now, under the stimulus of wages, work ungrudgingly.

The most effectual agency, however, to give character to the race, is found to be military training. "As preparation for the life of a citizen, it is," testifies an officer in command of a colored regiment at Port Royal, "of unspeakable value."

Another witness deposes: "It is the best school in the world. If you could have seen the men who compose the colored regiments here as they were before, lounging about with shuffling gait and suspicious sidelong glance, and could have contrasted their appearance with their present bold and erect carriage and free bearing, I am sure you would agree with me. It makes men of them at once."

The negro has a strong sense of the obligations of law. Law, in the shape of military rule, takes for him the place of his master, with this difference, that he submits to it cheerfully, and without sense of degradation.

These poor people have an almost superstitious reverence for the President. Recently, at Beaufort, some one in the presence of an aged negro was speaking of Mr. Lincoln as an ordinary mortal; whereupon the old man interfered:

"What do you know," said he, "of Massa Linkum? He be everywhere. He walk de earth like de Lord!"

The religion of the South Carolina slave was emotional, and did not necessarily connect itself with the repression of vicious habits. It produced submission, humility, resignation, reliance on Providence, but its effect in checking lying, thieving, incontinence, and similar offenses, was feeble and uncertain. To reform such vices these people must be reached, as they readily may be, through their affections.

They are free from intemperance. They are unwilling to go North, or to return to Africa.

They love to accumulate, and especially to own land. Bounty lands in their own State, if assured to them, would be a most influential motive to enlist.

The negro of Florida, often employed as lumberman and in other avocations more calculated to call out his intelligence than the monotonous labor of the cotton-field, occupies an intermediate place between the slaves of North and South Carolina. He makes an excellent soldier.

§ III.—NEGROES AS MILITARY LABORERS.

In all the localities visited by the Commission, the demand for able-bodied negroes as laborers in the military service has exceeded the supply; often more than doubled it. For example, in North Carolina, the standing requisition from Gen. Burnside was for five thousand laborers, but at no time was the Superintendent able to furnish more than two thousand. So at Fortress Monroe and elsewhere.

From officers of rank the Commission ascertained that, in May, 1863, more than ten thousand soldiers were detailed from the army of the Potomac for duty in the Quartermaster's and Commissary Departments, on fatigue duty at the various headquarters, on pioneer service, etc., etc.; and that, estimating guards for trains, laborers on entrenchments, and for cutting roads, and building bridges, and men for ambulance corps, in hospitals, etc., *one-eighth* might be added to the available strength of our armies by employing negroes in services other than actual warfare. If we estimate our armies when recruited by the draft at 800,000 men, this would give, as the number of negroes that might be profitably employed as military laborers, 100,000. These would probably better fulfill duties of that character than white men detailed from the ranks; for all experienced officers know how difficult it is to obtain labor from soldiers outside of the ordinary routine of their duties.

The organization of freedmen employed as military laborers into brigades, with badges around their hats labelled "United States Service"—the men marched regularly to and from work—has been found in practice to produce an excellent effect. It tends to inspire them with self-reliance, and it affords them protection.

§ IV.—NEGROES AS SOLDIERS.

The evidence which has come before the Commission bearing on the capacity of the negro as a soldier induces them to recommend that the government should bring into the field, as early as possible, two hundred thousand colored troops, or upward. They recommend this as alike advantageous to the cause of the Union and to the race to which these troops belong.

Colored troops, taking a pride in their position, exhibit great neatness and care of their persons, uniforms, arms and equipments, and in the police of their camps. Usually skilful cooks and providers, they exhibit resource of taking care of themselves in camp.

The religious sentiment strongly characterizing the African race may, in the case of the colored soldier, be successfully appealed to by leaders who share it as a powerful element of enthusiasm. If the officers feel, and impart to their men the feeling, that they are fighting in the cause of God and Liberty, the Commission believe that no part of the army may be more relied on than the colored regiments. But with these people more than with a more independent race, success depends upon sympathy between their officers and them. Thus, how important soever the proper choice of officers in all cases, the Commission think it to be more important in the case of colored than of white troops; deeming it probable that colored troops badly officered might be liable to give way more readily than badly officered regiments of the more self-reliant white race. Colored soldiers criticize their officers very sharply. There is as much difference in the standing of the officers in colored as in white regiments.

A distinguished general officer expressed to the Commission the opinion that, in case of alarm, negroes, accustomed to stand together against master and overseer, are disposed to segregate—to run to each other—while whites disperse—"each for himself, and God for us all!"

Negroes have proved themselves especially daring and serviceable as spies; and the organization of colored guides, in connection with each army corps, is recommended.

If one hundred thousand negroes be employed in military services other than actual warfare, and if 200,000 or more be mustered in as soldiers, we shall require the military services of at least 300,000 blacks. But this number of able-bodied men represents a population of a million and a half, being one-half of all the colored people in the insurrectionary States.

To reach this number there is needed, beside military successes, a strict enforcement of the orders issued by the government that the colored refugees be treated with humanity. Upon such treatment it depends, in a great measure, whether we can have the full military advantage which, in this contest, we ought to have, from the aid of the negro race, and whether the military resources of the South shall be sapped by disintegration of her labor system.

Examples are given in which, in spite of Provost Marshals, negro refugees have been plundered by our pickets as they entered the Union lines; and it is recommended that such offences be severely punished, seeing that, independently of their inherent criminality, their practical effect is to discourage the emigration of those whom as soldiers we desire to enlist. A general order on the subject is recommended.

The Commission also recommend, as to all property brought in by negro refugees, that when taken by the Quartermaster for the public service, it be paid for as other property of loyal men is paid for, to the refugee if he make no demand on the government for support for himself, or family; otherwise, that the proceeds go into the Freedmen's Fund.

While refugees should not be exempted from draft, if draft be necessary, the Commission express the opinion, founded on actual observation and testimony, that if men of the proper stamp are selected as negro superintendents, these can, and will procure the voluntary enlistment of a much larger proportion of negroes, than is called for by the draft. Most of the freedmen can be made to understand by a proper appeal, that only by proving their manhood as soldiers—only through a baptism of blood—can they obtain, in this generation, such a change in public opinion as will insure to their race respect and decent treatment, in its social relations with whites.

It has been found in practice that it is easy, by judicious treatment, to create among these people a state of public opinion such that every able-bodied man among them who refuses to enter the public service, when required, is tabooed by his fellows as a mean, despicable fellow. Such means as these the Commission recommend, before resorting to coercive measures; both because they will more effectually fill the ranks, and because they will promote, while coercion will retard, the exodus from rebeldom of freedmen there held as slaves.

The Commision especially recommend, as a policy demanded alike by humanity and expediency, that to all colored soldiers of the United States there be extended, as prisoners of war, and under all other circumstances, the same protection as to white troops, and that pains be taken to make this widely and officially known.

§ V.—CHARACTER OF ORGANIZATION PROPOSED.

The labors of the Commission have not yet so far advanced as to justify them in recommending a definite system for the ultimate solution of one of the greatest social problems ever presented to a government, namely, how a great and radical industrial change, eventually involving the eradication of a labor-system which has been the growth of two centuries, shall be facilitated and directed. Such a change, the Commission believe, cannot be safely left, undirected and uncared for, to work itself out, drifting on at hap-hazard, according to the chance currents of daily events. A main question is whether, and how soon, the American freedman, with the dependence engendered by the slave system still clinging to him, and weighted down in his efforts to rise by that prejudice which prompts men to despise whoever has long been their inferior, will be able peaceably to maintain his new rights, and to protect himself against undue ascendency and imposition by the white man.

On one point the Commission are already agreed, namely, that a scheme of guardianship and protection for one race of men against another race inhabiting the same country, cannot become a permanent institution. If the necessity for the constant operation of such a scheme could be proved, the proof would amount to this—that the two races cannot in perpetuity inhabit the same country at all, and that the one must ultimately give way to the other.

The Commission are, therefore, of opinion that all special governmental measures for the guardianship of refugee freedmen should be more or less temporary in their character, and should be prepared and administered in that idea and intent.

The Commission state with satisfaction that they have found the negro slave of the South—though in some respects resembling a child, from the dependence in which he has been trained, and the unreasoning obedience that has been exacted from him, and therefore seeking and needing, for a season, encouragement and direction—yet by no means devoid of practical sagacity, and usually learning, readily and quickly, to shift for himself.

The Commission recommend that freedmen's camps where refugees are first received, should be regarded as places of reception and distribution only. The aggregation of these people in military villages is demoralizing, especially for women and children. The sooner the men are employed as military laborers or otherwise, and the women and children either cared for by the father of the family, or distributed on abandoned plantations, the better.

Even working of plantations by government should be undertaken only as a temporary expedient. As soon as loyal and respectable owners or lessees of plantations are found ready to hire them at fair wages, that is to be preferred. Or when freedmen evince ability to manage a small farm or market garden, such spots may be assigned to them at moderate rent, until Congress shall adopt, if it sees fit to adopt, some permanent policy as to these lands.

It is shown by the figures to be better and cheaper when plantations are worked by government to pay the freedmen wages, than to give them rations and promise them half the crop.

It is recommended to benevolent societies, as a general rule, instead of distributing clothing gratuitously, to establish stores in which, at moderate profit, food, clothing, and other necessaries of good quality might be supplied to the freedmen. This has already been successfully tried.

Regularity and promptitude in the payment of wages by government is earnestly recommended as one of the most essential elements of judicious treatment. Freedmen should learn as soon as possible that Emancipation means neither idleness nor gratuitous labor, but fair work for fair wages. When negroes are regularly paid, a single threat, namely, of dismissal, usually suffices to check laziness or other delinquency.

The Commission recommend that negroes acknowledging wives and children should be legally married, and the obligation to support their families carefully taught to them.

As a basis of a system of organization, the Commission recommend a strict and comprehensive system of registration, to take effect as each refugee enters our lines.

The Commission express the opinion that, except when military exigencies intervene, the organization for the care of refugees should be substantially separate from the ordinary military administration of the army. This feature was submitted to and approved by the Generals commanding at the various posts visited by the Commission.

§ VI.—DETAILS OF ORGANIZATION PROPOSED.

The plan of provisional organization suggested by the Commission is proposed to extend for the present over those portions of the country only with which the Commission have become acquainted; namely, the District of Columbia, Eastern Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida. The Commission have sought to adapt this plan, not to the present immediate wants alone, but to meet such additional occupancy by Union troops, of these four States, as is likely to occur for a year to come.

The Commission propose:

1. That the above regions of country constitute three superintendencies or departments, the first comprising the District of Columbia and Eastern Virginia; the second extending over North Carolina; the third including South Carolina and Florida.

2. That for each of these superintendencies there be appointed a *Department Superintendent.*

3. That there be appointed a Resident Superintendent for each important station in the Department with not less than 3,000 freedmen to care for; and when the number in the Residency exceeds 8,000, he may have an *Assistant.* There is a provision for the necessary *Clerks* and *Foremen.*

4. That there be detailed, as *Superintendent-General of Freedmen*, an officer not under the rank of a Brigadier-General, to whom and to his staff be assigned an office in the War Department; his staff officers acting as Secretaries, and otherwise aiding him in the duties of superintendence. This officer to have the general supervision, throughout the United States, of the colored population emancipated by acts of Congress and by the President's proclamation. To him all reports by Superintendents and all requisitions are to be addressed, and to be by him laid before the Secretary of War.

If, as the Freedmen's Superintendencies increase in number and importance, the Superintendent-General sees fit, he may, from time to time, call together the Department Superientendents, to sit for a few days for consultation and comparison of mutual experiences, and of such a Board he shall be Chairman.

A competent Surgeon and Hospital Steward to be appointed for each Residency, and an Assistant Surgeon when the numbers demand it, to be paid, for the time being but not permanently, by the government.

The importance of instruction, educational and religious, is strongly urged, and the eagerness of these people to receive it is dwelt on. For a time it is believed that some aid from government, especially in pay of school teachers, will be required; but ultimately, and before long, the Commission believe the freedmen will support both their Churches and schools—soonest, probably, the former. The freedmen at Newbern recently invited a private of the 43d Massachusetts Volunteers, a Methodist having a license to preach, to become their pastor at a salary of $1,000 a year.

[Many additional details of the plan of organization are given, but here omitted, as devoid of special interest to the public generally.]

Finally the Commission recommend that, wherever the ordinary Courts of Justice are suspended, a Provost Judge should be temporarily appointed; and also that the proper Department Superintendent be vested with authority to bring to conciliation and settlement all difficulties arising between freedmen, except when these are so grave that resort to a legal tribunal becomes necessary; and such the Commission have reason to believe are extremely rare. In the settlement of minor cases, in the absence of the Department Superintendent, the Resident Superintendents act as arbitrators rather than as formal judges, and that a spirit of litigation be discouraged.

The Commission record their profound conviction that on the judicious selection of the Superintendent-General, and of the Department Superintendents, will mainly depend the successful practical workings of this plan. The African race, accustomed to protect itself by cunning against oppression, and to shirk forced work by evasion, is yet alive to gratitude, open to impressions of kindness, and more easily led when its confidence is gained than our race, or perhaps any other. On the other hand, these refugees, as readily spoiled as children, must not be treated with weak and injurious indulgence. Mild firmness is needed to control them. They must find themselves treated, not as children of preference or objects of charity, but as men from whom, in their new character as freedmen, self-reliance and self-support are demanded.

§ VII.—GENERAL RESULTS.

The problem in the solution of which the Commission have been called to aid is of a mixed character. Together with obvious and imperative considerations of humanity, it involves great questions of Christian civilization and of statesmanship. But most urgent at the present moment are its relations with the national struggle in which we are engaged, and with the issue of that struggle for good or evil.

Proposing hereafter to embody in a more maturely considered Report the more complex and difficult inquiries of a general character above suggested, the Commission dismiss these for the present with a single brief remark.

The observation of the Commission, in the sections of country visited by them, together with the evidence obtained from those having most experience among freedmen, justify the conclusion that the African race, as found among us, lacks no essential aptitude for civilization. In a general way, the negro yields willingly to its restraints, and enters upon its duties, not with alacrity only, but with evident pride and increase of self-respect. His personal rights as a freeman once recognized in law and assured in practice, there is little reason to doubt that he will become a useful member of the great industrial family of nations. Once released from the disabilities of bondage, he will somewhere find, and will maintain, his own appropriate social position.

The Commission revert to the question in its relation to the existing insurrection. Its importance in that connection can hardly be over estimated. If the slaves of the South are loyal to the Union, the North will have but itself to blame if the war is not speedily and triumphantly closed. Scarcely any other question, therefore, is more intimately connected with the future destiny, prosperous, or decadent, of this nation.

But, in point of fact, it admits no reasonable doubt that the Southern slaves, as a body, do desire a release from bondage, from forced and often excessive labor, from arbitrary and often inhuman punishment. Their masters have sought to inspire them with a dread of "Yankee Abolitionists"; but while doubtless assenting, as the habit of the slave is, to these denunciations of Northern emancipationists, all facts prove that these men, as a general rule, see through the flimsy pretense, and are willing to risk severe punishment, sometimes death itself, whenever they have good reason to hope that, in deserting their masters, they will find in us just and sincere friends, able and willing to put them in a condition in which they may enjoy the results of their own labor.

But we, by our policy towards these people, may encourage, or we may discourage that hope. The point on which they are peculiarly sensitive and chiefly need assurance is, as to the absolute and irrevocable certainty of their freedom. We cannot expect this untutored race to understand the abstract proposition, that a great nation, after having solemnly declared, through its chief magistrate, that 3,000,000 of its inhabitants shall be forever free, cannot, without utter degradation in the eyes of the civilized world, repudiate that declaration, and reconsign these millions to slavery. They must have more tangible proof of the reality and unchangeable character of their emancipation. They must feel themselves treated *as* freemen, before they can fully realize the fact that they are, and will forever remain such.

We, by our misconduct, may give color and force to the misrepresentation of slaveholders touching our ultimate intentions toward the negro race. We may cause doubts in the minds of this enslaved people whether, in flying from ills they know, they may not enounter worse ills by the change.

Every aggression, every act of injustice committed by a Northern man against unoffending fugitives from despotism, every insult offered by the base prejudices of our race to a colored man, because of his African descent, is not only a breach of humanity, an offence against civilization, but it is also an act which gives aid and comfort to the enemy. The report as it goes abroad—penetrates into the enemy's country. So far as its influence there extends, the effect is to deter the slave from leaving his master, therefore, to secure to that master a bread-producer; and, by the same act, to deprive the Union of a colored soldier, and compel the government, by conscription, to withdraw a laborer from a Northern farm.

The practical effect, therefore, of abuse and injury to colored people in these days is not alone to disgrace the authors of such acts, but to compel conscription, and to denude the North, already scant of working hands, of the laborers and the artisans that remain to her. Thousands of fields owned by white men may remain untilled, thousands of hearths owned by white men may be made desolate, all as the direct result of the ill-treatment of the colored race.

Such a spirit is not treasonable in the usual sense of that term; yet its results are the same as those of treason itself. It becomes, therefore, in a military point of view, of the highest importance, that all wanton acts of aggression, by soldiers or by civilians, whether against refugees or against free negroes heretofore settled in the North should be promptly and resolutely repressed; and the penalties of the law, in every such case, vigorously enforced. A prudent regard for our own safety and welfare, if no higher motive prompt, demands the taking of such precaution.

We have imposed upon ourselves an additional obligation to see justice and humanity exercised toward these people, in accepting their services as soldiers. It would be a degree of baseness of which we hope our country incapable, to treat with contumely the defenders of the Union, the men who shall have confronted death on the battle-field, side by side with the bravest of our own race, in a struggle in which the stake is the existence in peace and in their integrity of these United States.

We are unjust to our enemies if we deny that this struggle has been a hard-fought one, contested bravely and with varying success. A people with an element of semi-barbarism in their society, giving birth to habits of violence and of lawless daring, are, in some respects, well prepared for war. Add to this, that our task is the more arduous, because, to quell the rebellion, we have had to become the invaders. Under these circumstances, can we overlook the fact, that several hundred thousand able-bodied men, detached from the labor-ranks of the enemy, and incorporated in the army of the North, may essentially influence the decision of the issue?

There is an additional reason why a considerable portion of the Union armies should be made up of persons of African descent. The transformation of the Slave Society of the South into Free Society, no longer properly a question, has become a necessity of our national existence. Reflecting men have already reached the conclusion, and the mass of our people are attaining to it day by day, that the sole condition of permanent peace on this continent is the eradication of negro slavery. But the history of the world furnishes no exampie of an enslaved race which won its freedom without exertion of its own. That the indiscriminate massacres of a servile insurrection have been spared us, as addition to the horrors of a civil war, is due, it would seem, rather to that absence of revenge and blood-thirstiness which characterizes this race, than to the lack either of courage or of any other quality that makes the hardy combatant; for these the negro appears, so far as we have tried him in civilized warfare, to possess. And in such warfare is it fitting that the African race seek its own social salvation. The negro must fight for emancipation, if he is to be emancipated.

If, then, Emancipation be the price of National unity and of peace, and if a people, to be emancipated, must draw the sword in their own cause, then is the future welfare of the white race in our country indissolubly connected with an act of justice, on our part, toward people of another race; then is it the sole condition under which we may expect—and, if history speak truth, the sole condition under which we shall attain—domestic tranquillity, that we shall give the negro an opportunity of working out, on those battle-fields that are to decide our own national destiny, *his* destiny, whether as slave or as freedman, at the same time.

The Commission have been instructed to report how colored freedmen "can be most usefully employed in the service of the government for the suppression of the rebellion." The above remarks may suffice as the record of their profound conviction, that no more effectual aid can be had in the speedy suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of permanent peace, than is to be obtained by inducing the hearty coöperation of these freedmen, and by giving full scope to their energies as military laborers and soldiers during the continuance of the war.

It is here worthy of remark that in receiving any given number of colored emigrants from the rebel States, a much larger proportion of field laborers is to be found than in the same number of white emigrants; the reason being that the women as well as the men—even girls of 15 and upward—are usually accustomed to plantation labor, and often, from the force of habit, prefer it to any other. This is an important item in estimating the aid which may be derived from negro refugees.

Upon the whole, the Commission conclude that there is not the least risk that such refugees will flock to us more rapidly than they are needed, and than they can be advantageously employed. The only question is, whether we shall be able to induce them to join us in such numbers and as speedily as is to be desired. It is in our hands to hasten the time and increase the number. And it is doubtful whether, in the conduct of the war, there is a more important duty to perform.

New York, June 30, 1863.

ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

[Our Boston correspondent has told us that the Rev. Dr. MASSIE, of London, delivered a brief address at the celebration of the Anniversary of W. I. Emancipation at Abington, Aug. 1. We find in *The Liberator* the following sketch of his address and of the remarks which it elicited from Messrs. May and Garrison.]

DR. MASSIE, on being introduced, was received with applause, and spoke somewhat as follows:

I have unspeakable pleasure in being present here to-day, and in meeting the men, and the women too, who have so long stood together in behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause in America. I have a deep respect for these friends, and it was long my domestic pleasure to act, from year to year, in behalf of the Annual Bazaar held in Boston, to aid in the cause of the total abolition of slavery. I was then associated with one who was as truly a member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society as if she had lived within the bounds of your State. [This allusion of Dr. M. to his wife (since deceased) whose warm heart and active mind had greatly endeared her to many in this country, was received with sincere emotion.] I was one of the workers in behalf of that Emancipation which we to-day are met to celebrate. I do not say I was a great part of that work, but rather that I was one of the least of those workers; but whatever aid I could give, travelling, speaking, using my political and personal influence in its behalf, that I did give. We then had amongst us a class, fully equal in temper and conduct to any "copperheads" or "rattlesnakes" which you know anything about in this country. I am sorry to feel obliged to tell you that the English nation never has been wholly anti-slavery. At the time spoken of, the lordlings and aristocracy of England put every possible obstacle in the way of the great measure of Emancipation, and Wilberforce (himself more than a whole bench of Lords and Bishops) was glad, in a Parliament of six hundred, to find forty-five men to stand by him. But the subject was agitated, and an agency society was instituted. Then it was that my friend George Thompson (applause) and many others went forth to labor, and soon the petitions to Parliament began to roll in. At this time there was not a Bishop of the Church that would vote for Emancipation! Hardly a dozen ministers throughout the kingdom were ready to be identified with the measure! But Mr. Stanley (now Lord Derby) and others saw that it had become an absolute necessity, as a measure of peace at home, to take up this question of Emancipation in earnest, and the great measure at length triumphed.

Recently a large body of Protestant ministers of France—seven hundred and fifty—addressed the clergy of England, desiring them to make a public expression of their interest in the contest now going on in America, as a contest against slavery and in behalf of liberty and justice. To that address, four thousand and eight ministers of Great Britain signed a strong and sympathetic reply. On the 3d of June last, a meeting of clergy at Manchester joined in an address to the Churches and people of America, and they have now sent it hither by the hands of deputies. That address I have with me to-day. I had the pleasure to read it to an audience of six thousand persons in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester. I have read it to large assemblies in Philadelphia, New Haven, and elsewhere in this country. I had also the honor to read it to President Lincoln at Washington, who I am happy to believe is firmly and heartily opposed to slavery. I hope also to present it soon in Boston; and should the reading be desired, I shall be happy to read it here.

A slight shower coming up, Dr. Massie's remarks were somewhat interrupted; but this was of brief duration, and he closed in an eloquent strain of hopefulness and faith in regard to the issues of our great struggle with the rebellion and slavery.

S. MAY, JR., referring to what Dr. Massie had said of "copperheads" in Great Britain thirty years ago in the days of the great contest with the West India slave interest, remarked upon the great number of the same class still to be found there, who, if they be not as violent as formerly, it is only because they dare not to be so. He spoke of the malignant and mendacious course of *The Times* and other London journals, towards this country, of their palpable sympathy with the rebellion, and the countenance and aid they have given and continue to give to the slaveholders. These are the men, who, joining with rebels and "copperheads" here, are doing their utmost to prolong the war, to perpetuate slavery, and to break down every vestige of popular rights and republican government in this country. He was sorry to believe that the English government itself, taken as a whole, and especially those classes in whose hands the government more immediately is, were, with a few noble exceptions, unfriendly to this country, and more than willing that slavery and the rebellion should carry the day. But of the English people generally, of the vast masses of the working-people, of the extensive and well-informed middling classes, as also of great numbers of the most intelligent, gifted, and best educated men and women in the kingdom, his belief was far otherwise. It is their influence it is a salutary respect and fear of them, which holds back the English government from an acknowledgment of the Confederacy, and from openly and directly giving them the aid which it now suffers to be given indirectly. In illustration of modern British "copperheadism," Mr. May read a paragraph, which had been cut from the London *Dispatch* of July 11th last, and sent to him by an English friend. It stated that a large committee of Earls, Lords and other "Honorables" (the names were read) had been raised to procure a "marble statue, heroic size," to be executed of the late General Thomas J. Jackson (Stonewall Jackson), as a recognition of his worth as a "hero and a Christian." "It is not intended," says *The Dispatch*, "that subscriptions to the statue should imply any opinion on the merits of the American struggle"! Oh, no, not in the least! (Laughter.) "The completed statue is to be offered to Virginia"!

Rev. Dr. MASSIE explained that *all* the names read by Mr. May belonged to the Tory party. Several of these persons might themselves have given the £1,500 needed for the statue, without missing it. The Tory party is well known to be always in hostility to every liberal measure. He thought Mr. May had not done full justice to the spirit of many of the English aristocracy. Many of them are widely different from their class. Lord Carlyle, Lord Lyons, the Duke of Argyle, and others, are noble and excellent persons, whose influence is just what we could desire. The government is not opposed to the abolition of slavery; and a vast preponderance of the people are strongly in favor of it. I wish not to sever the friendly ties between this country and England, but to bind them more closely. Let nothing be done, let nothing be even said, by any friend of freedom in America or England, to provoke hostility between the two countries.

Mr. MAY rejoined that in his previous remarks he had distinctly spoken of certain honorable exceptions among the British aristocracy. But when the Rev. Dr. Massie had named the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Carlisle, had he not about exhausted the list of those of that class who had manifested any sympathy with the government and people of the United States in the present war? Far be it from him to do aught to excite a hostile feeling between the two countries. We are not doing this when we point out the violations of a just neutrality which England is continually committing toward this country. We are really the friends of peace and amity in so speaking, for we point out a palpable danger to that peace, we give a friendly warning, we implore that country to desist from the building, equipping and arming of piratical cruisers against our commerce, in her own ports, before it becomes altogether too late to prevent the war, which such a course on England's part must bring on. If we would have peace, we must observe the conditions of peace. And it is far more in England's power than in ours to decide the question of peace or war between the two countries. For these reasons, he desired to recognize our real friends in Great Britain, and to get a full grasp of their true and honest hands in this great crisis.

Mr. GARRISON most cordially responded to the sentiments expressed by Dr. Massie against hostility between this country and England. He hoped he should never live to see a war between these two countries. But the aim of the Copperhead press and population here is to excite enmity against England. He believed the great mass of the English people were in feeling with the North. He had seen the account of but one popular meeting (that of Sheffield) which took the other side. The government suspends its decision. But it has not recognized the South as a nation, and we may yet hope that it will not do so.

Great credit is due to the Dissenting clergy of England (in comparison with those of the Established Church) for their efforts against slavery. Here we have no Established Church, but our clergy have not, as a body, taken the right position on this subject. The special representatives of religion here have continued to favor slavery, and to this fact its long continuance is mainly owing.

THE COUNTRY'S GREATEST PERIL.

[Extract from the speech of HENRY WILSON, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts, at the Abington Celebration, Aug. 1, 1863.]

I AM accustomed, sir, to take hopeful views of the future of my country. Not the shadow of a doubt of ultimate success has flitted across my brain since slavery raised the banner of treason. I believe in the vitality of republican institutions, in the exhaustless energies of a free people, in the progress of events, in the providence of Almighty God; and, therefore, amid disaster and gloom, I have had undoubting faith in the triumph of United America (applause). Nor am I accustomed to complain of the action of the government in the great work of humanity, justice and patriotism—the utter extinguishment of slavery in the rebel States, which intelligent patriotism, with clear vision, sees is the heart, the soul, the brain of this foul and wicked rebellion.

My heart throbs with high hope and patriotic pride as I review the wondrous progress of our country, during the past two years, in the destruction of the only enemy it has to fear, this hour, on the globe. I see that slavery has been forever abolished in the District of Columbia, its brutal Black Code annulled, and the oath of the black man received in its judicial tribunals (applause). I see that slavery has been forever prohibited in the vast Territories of the United States, and abolished in West Virginia and Missouri adding two more free States to this sisterhood of free commonwealths (applause). I see that all slaves escaping from rebels, and taking refuge within the lines of the army, and all slaves captured from rebels, "shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held in slavery" (applause). I see that the President is authorized to secure the services of the slaves of rebels for military purposes, and that their mothers, wives and children, if held by rebels are made free forever. I see that the negro, who had "no rights white men were bound to respect," is recognized by the government as a citizen of the United States, and goes to foreign lands, bearing the passport of citizenship, signed by the Secretary of State (applause). I see that colored men are wearing the uniform of the army, following the starry flag of the Republic, and pouring out their blood to preserve the menaced life of the nation (applause). I see, too, that the President of the United States, in the exercise of the war powers of the government, has proclaimed that more than three million of slaves in the rebel States are "thenceforward and *forever* FREE"; and that this decree of freedom is to be "observed, obeyed and enforced" by army and navy—by all the power of the nation (applause). I accept, hail and welcome these deeds of humanity, justice and freedom, and thank God that I have been permitted to have some humble part in this work of freeing my country from this foul, wicked and treasonable barbarism.

But I confess to you, sir, that, while I gratefully and proudly recur to these grand achievements, sanctioned by humanity and justice, religion and patriotism, I am oppressed with anxiety for the future. I say to you, sir, to these friends—who are proud to follow your lead in the cause of the bondman—I say to this assemblage of Massachusetts men, that the decree of emancipation in the rebel States, proclaimed by the President in the exercise of war powers, as the settled policy, the irrepealable law of the nation, to be "observed, obeyed and enforced" by the authority of the nation, is this day in peril (hear, hear). Yes, sir, I repeat it—and if I had the power, I would utter it in every loyal ear in America—that this immortal decree of emancipation, upon which the President invoked the blessing of Heaven and the generous judgment of mankind, is this day and this hour in peril. The enforcement of this decree, to which the government is irrevocably pledged to the proscribed Union men of the rebel States, whose security is involved in the issue—to three million three hundred thousand slaves—to the nations of Christendom—is now endangered, hardly less by the malignant hate of its implacable, relentless, inexorable foes, than by the cowardly fears and timid counsels of its reluctant friends (hear, hear).

When the President proclaimed, on the 22d of September, that, on the 1st of January, 1863, "all persons held as slaves" in the rebel States should be "then, thenceforward and forever free"—that the government of the United States would "recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons"—rebel chiefs avowed their readiness to "hoist the black flag, and procla

mation of Emancipation in the rebel States. This proclamation is a Decree of Freedom made in the face of earth and heaven. The peace and security, the unity and renown of the country demand its enforcement wherever the authority of the nation shall extend, as the irrevocable law of the Republic. If the President, if the Cabinet, if the statesmen of the Administration shall prove false and recreant to this plighted faith of the nation, they will deserve the scorn of earth and the judgments of heaven (applause).

I have, sir, undoubting faith in the intentions and the purposes of the President of the United States. Dr. Massie told you to-day, that he "believed President Lincoln desired the freedom of every slave in America." I believe President Lincoln is a sincere and true anti-slavery man, as sincere and as true as any man that treads the soil of the republic (hear, hear). Expressing to the President, the other day, my apprehensions in regard to the efforts making to thwart and defeat the enforcement of the Emancipation proclamation, he said to me that he "should never withdraw that proclamation" (enthusiastic applause). I believe, sir, that the President firmly intends to "observe, obey and enforce" the proclamation—to withdraw, modify or qualify it, never! (Applause.) But I see clearly, as the practical issues involved in it present themselves for solution, that its deadliest foes will resort to every device to thwart and baffle it; that conditional loyalty will wield every seductive influence to seduce, or silence, or demoralize the country. I see clearly, too, sir, that the counsels of the nation, that should now be as inflexible as destiny, will waver and falter, unless assured and steadied by the iron resolution of that intelligent patriotism which sees, with clear and undazzled vision, that slavery now is, and ever must be, the mortal and deadliest foe to United America and her republican institutions. Let the true and the tried men of America, whose bosoms glow with the sacred fires of that patriotism which can never forget, and will never forgive, the bloody crimes of slavery against the life of the nation and its heroic defenders, demand, inexorably demand, the unconditional enforcement of the proclamation of Emancipation in the States in rebellion.

Slavery, to extend its dominions, to enlarge its sway, raised the banners of treason, bathed the fields of America with blood, murdered and maimed her noblest young men, and carried into her homes the sumless agonies of civil war. God Almighty has given the opportunity—the President has uttered the decree—then let this bruised and bleeding people take God's opportuniy, enforce the President's decree, and consign slavery in rebellion to the grave that knows no resurrection (applause).

Sir, slavery has distinctly pronounced against the country, its faith, its creed, its institutions for the culture and elevation of the toiling masses, its aspirations and its hopes. Its manifold crimes against the country, its institutions and its defenders glare upon us whichsoever way we turn. The time has gone by forever when any American, who is loyal to his country, who is imbued with the spirit of its institutions, who accepts its sublime creed as a living faith, who is inspired by its hopes of the future, can favor the longer existence of slavery in America (hear, hear). He cannot be true to his country, who, in the lights of to-day, would perpetuate slavery in the rebel States. The loyal American, filled with divine charity, may forgive Davis and his compeers in treason: for they are but the instruments of slavery. He may forgive Pierce and Vallandigham, Seymour and Wood; for they are but sympathetic friends of slavery. He may forgive even the brutal fiends whose hands were reddened, the other day, in the city of New York, with the blood of inoffensive black men. But he can forgive slavery never, never! (Applause.)

The practical issues before the nation are the suppression of the rebellion by the hand of war, the extinguishment of its cause by the enforcement of the Emancipation proclamation. These are the vital issues, and they are to meet the sternest resistance—to pass through trials that will test the fidelity and endurance of their supporters, as their fidelity and endurance were never tested before (hear, hear). I tell you, sir, and the men who believe in the Emancipation proclamation, who mean to make it a practical reality, the irrepealable law of the nation, that they must prepare for a mighty conflict—a conflict that will stir the country to its profoundest depths. Beside this transcendent question of the enforcement of the proclamation in the rebel States, all other questions, growing out of the existence of slavery, sink into utter insignificance; for its success carries with it everything else—ultimate emancipation in Delaware and Maryland, Kentucky and Tennessee, Fugitive Slave law and all (applause). Let, then, the anti-slavery men of united America, by thought, word and deed, support the President in suppressing the rebellion, and in enforcing the proclamation. Let them raise no immaterial issues, no trifling questions to distract or divide their counsels, or to impede their advance to the achievement of the crowning victory that shall bring along with it unity to a now dismembered country, peace to a wounded and bleeding nation, justice to a wronged race, and a future radiant with the elevating and refining inspirations of equal and impartial freedom (applause).

A gentleman in the audience inquiring of Mr. Wilson the effect of the Petition now circulating for entire abolition,

Mr. Wilson said he wished every man, woman and child would petition the government against slavery, and for cleaning it thoroughly out of the country. But a more important thing is—every man in this country should ask for THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION. If this were thoroughly enforced, slavery would soon fall in the Border States, and we should have peace, safety and Union. The Loyal Leagues in Baltimore have already declared for Emancipation in Maryland. The people of Missouri have strongly begun the work of emancipation, though not in what I think the best way. Delaware is on the verge of emancipation.

Mr. Wilson answered a question about the Supreme Court, by saying that four, and perhaps five, of the Judges were right as to the constitutionality of the proclamation; but added, if the *people* are right and resolute, there will be nothing to fear from the Supreme Court.

Mr. GARRISON said—The way to sustain the proclamation is to ask the President to abolish *all* slavery. The greater includes the less.

EMANCIPATION IN SURINAM.

On the 1st of July, the slaves of Surinam, a Dutch colony in South America, were emancipated in accordance with a law adopted by the Legislature of Holland on the 8th of August, 1862, with the cordial sanction of the Dutch government. The slaves of the colony form an overwhelming majority of the total population, numbering about 45,000 persons, in an aggregate population of 61,000. More than one half of the negroes belong to the Moravian Church, the missionaries of which publish in the papers of their denomination some interesting information on this important event, and, especially, on the spirit in which the slaves received the news of their approaching liberty.

The Rev. Mr. Jansa, one of the oldest and most experienced missionaries of the colony, says:

"The intelligence of the speedy emancipation of the negroes naturally awakens in me, who have so long labored in this colony, the most heartfelt joy. Having been requested by several planters to make known to their slaves the proclamation of the Governor and the Emancipation law, I did so. They assembled, neatly dressed, in the church, and I tried to explain everything to them, getting them to repeat aloud all that I said, so there might be no misunderstanding. The joy and praise of the poor negroes were touching. They had previously heard, but refused to believe, the news, saying: 'The whites have deceived us so often!' But now that I made known the truth, and told them, 'It is really so, our Savior has influenced the King and his Councellors to set you free on the first of July, 1863'—they doubted no longer. Big tears of joy rolled down their black cheeks, and with jubilee joy they exclaimed: 'Our dear teacher tell us; we believe it; we will be free! What our mothers heard of ere we were born, that is now to come to pass, that we will see! Thanks, thanks unto God!'"

After Mr. Jansa had proclaimed the coming emancipation on a number of plantations, fifteen of the native assistants of the missionaries went to the Citizen-Captain (chief magistrate of a district) and begged him to thank the Governor, and through the Governor the King, in the name of all the plantations of this district; they added that so long as they should continue slaves they would show themselves to be diligent and obedient, and would endeavor to prove that the liberty promised them should not be abused; and that when they were free they would earn their bread and support their families faithfully; finally, *they asked permission to send their children at once to school.*

In response the Governor wrote a very friendly letter, which the missionary read from the pulpit on the first Sunday in Advent. The Citizen-Captain was present and addressed the negroes, whereupon several native assistants in succession rose, thanked him, and then spoke very appropriately to the congregation.

The missionary continues:

"The spirit at present prevailing among the negroes is excellent. Who will wonder at the joy of the missionaries? We have been hindered in our labors, and have been obliged to submit to many things in order to gain access to the plantations. That after the emancipation, too, much will occur to try us, is clear; but we will no longer be restrained from giving the bread of life to those who really hunger for it; we will not be obliged to hold service, and give instruction, late in the evening, when the negroes are tired and worn out; we will have the children in our schools, and no one can forbid them to come. I confess that I feel rejuvenated. The negroes often say to me: 'You rejoice with us, as though you too were to be made free!' The oppression of slavery is something terrible!"

The Moravians, in view of the emancipation, feel the necessity of having more schools and more native assistants. It is an encouraging circumstance that there already is, at Beekhuizen, a Normal School for the training of native teachers, which will, no doubt, be speedily enlarged. Perhaps the efforts which will be made by the Moravians will be sufficient for preaching to and teaching all the negroes of the colony. If not, their wants, we hope, will attract the attention of other Christian denominations. In their moral and social progress, just at this time, the whole Christian and civilized world must feel the profoundest interest; for every unfavorable report that, rightly or wrongly, may be given of their condition, would be received with rejoicings by all the enemies of human freedom in this country who have bathed this land in blood, or sympathize with those who have done so, that the African race may still be held in hopeless bondage.—*Tribune.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 1863.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH THE REBEL STATES?

OUR readers will bear us witness that we have been instant in season, and, as we fear some of them may think, out of season, too, in warning them against the dangers likely to wait upon victory—more to be dreaded than any that can accompany defeat. We have reason to think that we have been deemed of little faith in the power of events, and lacking in the confidence due to our rulers, in the anxiety we have felt and endeavored to excite and keep alive in our readers, as to this matter. We have felt, from the beginning, that the danger to the future of the country lay not so much in the direction of Richmond as of Washington. That the perils of being overpowered in the field were not comparable to those which might spring out upon us from the Cabinet. Indeed, a final defeat in arms we have never considered among strong probabilities. In war, civil war as well as foreign, the heaviest battalions may be reckoned upon to prevail in the end. And as there could be no possible motive on the part of any of the powers that be at Washington to be captured in the Capital and made to submit to the will of a present conqueror, we did not doubt that men enough and munitions enough would be provided to subdue the rebellion in the last result, inasmuch as we stood to the rebels as two to one as to men and a hundred to one as to money. The danger we have dreaded has been the surrender of the victor to the vanquished at the first demand of his sword, and we fear that we owe our escape, thus far, to the vicious resoluteness of the rebel Cabinet rather than to the virtuous steadfastness of our own. Mr. Seward's bills on European credulity at sixty and ninety days, his volunteered assurances to the rebels, through foreign powers, of a determination to leave slavery as it was in their States, and his intimation that the seats of the rebel districts and States in the House and Senate were ready waiting for them, were all ominous of his persisting in the doctrines of his last speech in the Senate and the opinion that there could be no sacrifice of Northern rights too great to be made for the preservation of the old Union. And we knew how potential his voice would be with the President and the Nation.

We fear that, at any time preceding the recent victories at Gettysburg, at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, a proposition of the rebels to return to their allegiance on condition of amnesty and a restoration of the state of things before the war, would have met with too favorable a reception. We hope that the President might have had grace given him to stand by his proclamation of Emancipation, but with a Supreme Court ready to deny its constitutionality, an Opposition foaming with demoniac pro-slavery frenzy, and a powerful partisan like Mr. Greeley giving his immense moral weight on the side of the lawfulness and rectitude of reënslaving the blacks for the benefit of the whites, we cannot feel sure of what he would have been left to do. Happily, the storms which our Ship of State encountered have kept her off those shoals and quicksands. What we have now to see to is that she be not scuttled by traitors among the crew, left free to work their villanies through the weak lenity of the officers, and that she do not founder as she comes sailing triumphantly into harbor with the light of victory playing on her pennants. Perhaps we owe it to the escape of Lee's army after Gettysburg, that this calamity has not already overtaken us. The allies of the rebels are busy preparing the public mind of the North for a settlement of all difficulties on the basis of mutual forgiveness and the restoration of their rights to the rebels, as soon as they are willing to take them up. The very complications of our political relations tend to confuse the ideas of people in general. How can an adjustment be made, at any time, excepting by treating the revolted States as States? The Confederacy, of course, is to be set at naught, and treated as if it had never been; but, surely, the States remain political entities as complete and sovereign as ever. They must be the parties to the final settlement, and they must remain in possession of all reserved sovereign rights. These fallacies we have from time to time endeavored to combat. It is on these, and such as these, that the Copperheads rest their schemes for the restoration of the dynasty of slavery. Suppose the President has declared slavery abolished as an act of military necessity, the States, as soon as peace is restored, can reëstablish it and declare by law that every man of African descent shall belong to somebody besides himself. Have not all States supreme power over their own domestic institutions? The right of representatation in Congress revives in the rebel States, as soon as the war is over, and in a Congress thus constituted, the Copperheads have good reason for believing that the Good Time spoken of as Coming by the prophet Mackay will have come, after their own heart and his.

The only possible safeguard against the mischiefs which would inevitably follow such a fatal settlement—the proscription of the enemies of slavery, the assumption of the Confederate debt, the repudiation of our own, the nationalization of slavery and the suppression of free speech and a free press as incidental thereunto—our only protection against all the ills that must flow from such a peace is the ultimate territorializing of the whole rebel country, thus depriving its inhabitants of all political power until their conditions are such as to render it safe to entrust them with it. Delegates in Congress might then be allowed, with permission to speak but with no right of voting, but nothing more. Slavery can only be abolished by the actual military occupation of the rebel country and the reorganization of its industry under the direction of Northern men on the basis of renumerated labor and the elevation of the laboring class. And until slavery is effectually and forever abolished and replaced by a system of free labor, there can be no permanent peace for the Nation and no safety for its dearest rights. Until this state of things has been brought to pass, it would not be safe to allow even a territorial government to exist. A strong military rule only would be sufficient for this thing. Juries, of course, could not be entrusted with any part of the administration of justice, until there was a class created for them. Martial law, alone, would possess the stern strength capable of carrying a community through such a critical change in its conditions and institutions. Gradually, the populations could be advanced, first to territorial self-government, and, finally, to the more complete privileges of State rule. And it would not be necessary to have a very numerous force on foot to maintain this intermediate state of affairs. The inhabitants, in any wise consenting to the rebellion, would be disarmed of necessity, and then strong garrisons in the seaports and in the principal inland towns, two or three in each State, would be enough to maintain order. And all who are not content that the treasure that has been expended shall have been worse than thrown into the sea, and that the blood that has been shed shall cry forever to Heaven as a testimony against them, must begin to consider seriously whether any stringency short of this would be sufficient for the occasion.

These opinions, often urged by us, have received most encouraging confirmation from a source of the very highest authority. Their legal force is admitted and enforced by the clearest reasoning in a letter to the Philadelphia Union League from William Whiting, Esq., of Massachusetts, Solicitor to the War Department, and now on his way to Europe charged with diplomatic business of the most important character. Mr. Whiting is a lawyer of the first eminence, who left the enjoyment of a large fortune earned by his talents and industry and of a very large professional income, to give his time and powers to his country. In this letter he brushes away the sophistries with which this question has been enveloped by the ingenuity of disguised rebels among ourselves, with a strong and decided hand. He indicates the difference in the legal condition of the rebels before the rebellion had advanced from insurrection to civil war, from that of individual to territorial enemies. Whether that change in condition took place earlier than the act of Congress, July 13th, 1861, or not, the Supreme Court has unanimously decided that, since then, a territorial war has existed, and that every inhabitant of the rebel territory has been an enemy and is to be considered and treated as such. This disposes of all the cases of loyal men, real or fictitious, in the rebel States claiming the rights of citizens of those States. The rebel States and all the inhabitants thereof, because of their character of public enemies, have no rights that the United States are bound to respect, excepting the rights of war. If they are defeated, they must submit on our terms and not on their own. They have no State rights, no personal rights as citizens, no priveliges but such as we may think best to award them. And we trust that the American people will see to it that they do not put into enemie's hands weapons to cut their own throats with. As everyone will read this letter of Mr. Whiting, we merely allude to it as a most gratifying confirmation of our long-held and often expressed fears. It should be in the hands of every loyal man, as it provides him with unanswerable arguments against the specious fallacies of the Copperheads. We trust, too, that this most timely letter, coming as it does from one so much in the councils of the Administration, expresses its opinions and forshadows its action. If so, it may be regarded as the fortunate complement of the Proclamation of the first of January, and the sure harbinger of future peace, virtue and prosperity.

LETTER FROM M. COCHIN.

At the suggestion of Miss Booth, the skilful translator of the invaluable works of M. Augustin Cochin on the "Results of Slavery and Emancipation," we sent, some time ago, to that distinguished writer, a file of THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLVAERY STANDARD, as nearly perfect as we could make it, from the commencement of the rebellion and have since sent to his address the current numbers as they appeared. We did this, of course, from a conviction that M. Cochin would find in our columns, from time to time, much that would conduce to a thorough understanding on his part of the whole subject of American slavery, as involved in the great struggle now pending. The following letter from M. Cochin affords very satisfactory evidence of his appreciation of the paper.

[Translation.]

25 RUE ST. GUILLAUME, PARIS, July 9, 1863.

MR. OLIVER JOHNSON—*Sir:* I received with gratitude the numbers of THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD which you were good enough to send me, and I will thank you to continue to address to me that remarkable and useful journal. It is a living picture, colored, varied and real, of the vast movement now going on in the world against slavery. All the important points and notable facts are there reproduced in such a manner as to form complete archives of the question. It is a page in the history of the human family, which is now struggling under the hand of God to rid itself of an obstinate scourge, maliciously implanted upon the freest country on the globe. I congratulate you, sir—you and your friends—on your arduous labor in this cause, so noble and so invested with difficulty; and I congratulate myself on having been able, though at a distance and very feebly, to unite my efforts with yours.

You have several times spoken of my book—so well translated by Miss Booth—in terms which merit my gratitude; while you charge me with some mistakes and omissions almost inevitable in writing of a foreign country, the writer being unable to procure, without infinite difficulty, the necessary documents. I hope to avoid these errors in future, should I again write upon the question which I follow with such intense interest, for I shall be assisted, taught and corrected by your journal and by the correspondence I now have with your country.

No one here can foresee the result of the terrible conflict now raging between the North and the South. The interests which suffer often tend to close our eyes to the justice of your cause, but no doubt is entertained in regard to the end reserved for slavery, which has received its death-blow, whatever may be the issue of the struggle. When God shall permit the prayers of all generous hearts to be thus answered, you, sir, will have the honor of having greatly contributed to that desirable object.

Allow me, sir, to express my most profound and grateful consideration. AUGUSTIN COCHIN.

In alluding to some mistakes and omissions in the works of M. Cochin, it was far from our intention to attribute them to any fault of the author. Instead of being surprised by such mistakes, the wonder in our mind was, that they were so few and so unimportant. Certainly no writer ever evinced a more candid and impartial spirit than that which characterizes his every page and line. Least of all were we surprised to find that some of his impressions in regard to American Abolitionists had been derived, apparently, not from a careful study of their writings, but from misrepresentations of their character current alike in this country and in Europe. We shall have the satisfaction, a few days hence, of sending to M. Cochin a number of books and pamphlets, which reflect the real spirit and designs of American Abolitionists, and which, we are sure, will serve to correct some of the false impressions to which we allude.

EFFECT OF THE PROCLAMATION.—*The Tribune* prints the following extract of a letter, received by a Georgian, now a resident of Boston, from a fellow-Georgian, a resident of this city:

"NEW YORK, July 22.

"The exodus from the South, you once predicted, has fairly set in. Every day almost some new face drops in. They generally come from the upper part of Georgia, and seem glad to get here. I know of six gentlemen who are here from one place. One of them says the Emancipation proclamation of Mr. Lincoln struck Jeff. Davis the hardest blow he has received. He says it has caused a large reduction in the Southern army by desertion, more so than the people of the North have any idea of. He says the poor white people are determined to fight for the negroes no longer. They have no interest in them, and look upon the war as one brought on by demagogues and slaveholders, to ride over the rights of the poor white people. He says he has heard repeatedly the soldiers say openly, they would not any longer fight for the d—d niggers and their masters. The upper part of Georgia has but few slaves anyhow, and I suppose the people there think more of their own comfort, and less of the rights of slave-owners, than in the low country. I was surprised, however, to hear from this old resident, and one who is a close observer of events, that the proclamation tended to divide the people of the South rather than unite them. The effect, doubtless, was different on the seaboard, according to information from as competent judges there, but Cherokee Georgia, like Tennessee, has always been for the Union, and now grows more and more so, as they suffer from Jeff. Davis's despotism. This is the cheering sign. The pound sterling was worth $45 currency—gold $1 for $8."

THE Copperhead *World* is much afflicted by the news that Gen. Gillmore has been largely reënforced by black troops. To capture Charleston with negroes, that paper thinks would be "a needless insult and humiliation to the people of South Carolina." The tender sympathy of *The World* for the originators of the rebellion is quite natural; but the loyal citizens of the North will be apt to think that American soldiers of any complexion are quite good enough to take and hold the Capital of South Carolina.

THE VITAL QUESTION OF THE WAR.

A LITTLE more than two years ago, the territory of the United States extended from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. But an enemy with large hostile forces overran that portion of it lying towards the South, and took military possession of all its important points. Of this very portion national needs and national safety had compelled the purchase, from foreign powers, of the greater part, upon conditions which admitted of no alienation or surrender of domain. Yet the State governments holding sway over that section formally threw off allegiance, spurned protection, defied the General government, and formed a military Confederacy, with the *avowed* purpose of wresting this territory from the United States—with *real* purposes far more dangerous and devilish than that, probably.

After this entire withdrawal and abdication on their part, the territory which they had so long misgoverned reverted to the United States, to whom it will belong till the enemy shall succeed in wresting it from them.

Everybody knows that the former States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, etc., *as members of the United States*—having claims on them, acknowledging duties towards them—have long since, by their own deliberate act, ceased to exist as such; giving in their adhesion to the Confederate Power at Montgomery; and only wait foreign recognition and success to invalidate our claim to the very soil. No hair-splitting nor legal pedantry can alter or conceal this fact. It is silly to say that one of those States could not terminate its political allegiance or connections—its own miserable existence even—to say that an arm cannot be lopped off, because body and limbs are inseparable, when we see that the arm *is* lopped off.

A State is a corporation, a people in its corporate capacity, and not soils and minerals. The *acres* between the Tombigbee and Apalachicola are not the State of Alabama—are not now, nor ever were. They were there before the State was ever heard of, and will be there when recognition of her rights under a foreign government shall be extorted from us; or, otherwise, when some new and civilized State or States occupying them shall be admitted into the Union, after the subjugation or expulsion of the enemy now in possession, and the taking undisputed possession of the territory by the United States.

These facts, who but an idiot would think of questioning? Yet, they are practically denied or evaded, and the shameful imposture is kept up, by traitors and the tools of traitors, that rights and duties are not coterminate; that the United States is bound to the dead carcase of those old seceded States, and must live in that loathsome bondage, or be buried with them; that the Confederacy, in alliance with England and France it may be, may ravage our cities, overturn our government, or instal, as satrap, some minion of Jefferson Davis over his satrapy north of the Potomac; while, through all this time, the fatal "Constitution," cunningly forged into manacles for *us*, must arm and shield and aid *them* in its own destruction, and our overthrow as a nation.

The hostile States have belligerent powers which we are constrained to respect, and which may compel us to surrender our claim to the territory they have usurped. But when, added to these formidable powers, the astonishing claim is set up for them—nay, thrust upon them—that they shall still be members of the United States, with the privileges and powers thereto belonging—their ruffian hordes to sit in Congress and control the Departments, and finish the session at Richmond—how far off is ruin?

If it be that we have men at the head of the government who do not *know* better than this, it is time to save them or to save ourselves from them. If, from whatever cause, every word, message, dispatch, proclamation from that source, is based on that stupendous imposture, is it not time for this nation to awake—or is it already too late?

The whole government and people of Alabama could transfer their valuables, their *oaths*, their heart's allegiance to the Confederacy, for all this was at their sole disposal; they could transfer their own persons, take themselves off bodily; or they could, according to the ingenious "State rights" doctrines so much in vogue, enslave or disembowel each other, unmolested. But the territory they could *not* take off, nor transfer to the Confederacy nor to any other power, until it should be wrested from us by force. And least of all can they now belong to that Union between whom and them the great gulf of national war has opened forever.

But how dare we assume such guardianship, such responsibility as we have been betrayed into? A wise statesman almost trembles at the thought of that incurred for friends and faithful subjects. Any day, any hour, when a little hard-pushed, the rebels have *only to take us at our word*, and commit some outrage on the subjects or the commerce of some conniving foreign power, intriguing to secure safe pretexts for its hostilty toward us. The United States are summoned: "You acknowledge this precious State of South Carolina to be one of your national family, do you not? You observe the law of nations in all parts of your enlightened dominions?" "Y-e-s."

Common sense and common prudence would require us to reply that, "with the rebel Power occupying South Carolina we had no political relations whatever. *She was our enemy*—an enemy of the race. We would acknowledge no other duty or purpose than to subdue this enemy, or expel the whole power from the territory, for the sake of our own peace, and the peace of the world."

Defeat would be sad indeed—terrible; but that treachery or madness which has been persistently trying to hang a mill-stone about our neck—to link the fallen States to us by shackles of cunning and treasonable promises and adjuration—would convert victory itself into defeat a thousand fold more terrible than lost battles or loss of territory. Who will save us from such defeat? Surely, there was no rebellion in South Carolina against the lawful power and authority of the State; the aid of the General government was never invoked for putting down any such rebellion. No—it was the State, herself, which revolted. She chose war, and accepts the consequences of war. *We, too, must accept them*; there is no release. But from the consequences of a treasonably bought peace—of surrender to piratical States of dominion over this Nation—of becoming, ourselves, the base instruments of their ambition, and enemies of our race, may God in mercy deliver us!

Even now this cruelly betrayed people has plunged so far down towards ruin, that truth is deferred and concealed. Honorable men are found who shrink from speaking of things by their right name, in this our hour of extreme peril. They start with fear of seeing their own fading hopes answered by despair in the countenances of other men. They are shocked at out-spoken truth which cannot be gainsayed, and cannot be borne. And in this atmosphere of falsehood, the evil work goes on.

We already hear plans for the abdication, by the United States, of its power and authority, in substance if not in name; for the surrender and abandonment to the devilish malignity of its enemies, of hundreds of thousands of its own people, who have already suffered horrible outrages for their loyalty; for the mean betrayal and reënslavement of three million friends still more defenceless and outraged; for the annulment of its edicts and proclamations; for the triumphant entry of its enemies into supreme dominion. And all this is "*Restoration of the Union*"!

Was it for this that our dead sons and brothers were offered up? Have we murdered these noble dead by our lies and false pretences?

When we shall have delivered our perishing friends, now suffering a living death at the hands of the enemy; when we shall have aided them in forming civilized and Christian States; in that brightly beaming future, if it shall ever dawn for us, we may talk about a restoration of the Union, if the term pleases us, without such unfathomable infamy.

Were the *only* friends we happen to have in South Carolina to rebel against the authority of that rebel State, expel their enemy and ours, and send, under the seal of the State, their delegates to Congress, would the doors be opened for their admission, as representatives from that State? Not so. It would be justly replied, that the State which they represented had not yet been admitted into the Union; that the South Carolina of old was no longer one of the States of the Union; that her seal was a worthless bit of metal now. They must wait.

But were the traitors and thieves, now in arms against us, to avail themselves of spurned and craven proclamations, would *they* be admitted, and this defunct State be declared alive? Is it possible that we are to sink into this lower deep of wickedness, meanness and woe?

There are those who from the beginning have been stealthily plotting our defeat and disgrace. We are told, not alone by such toadies and Copperheads as never were seen at a Union meeting, but by nice legal gentlemen, whose vices as well as general character are merely of the "old Betty" type, that it is highly important we should not indulge in any delusive hope that slavery or the *legal status* of any person, in South Carolina or elsewhere, can be changed by this war. In the anxiety of their benevolent hearts, they take pains to inform us that any State can establish slavery, tomorrow, over any part of its people; in other words, that a handful of scoundrels, in South Carolina, or New York, or elsewhere, have a legal right to make slaves of the residue of the population—citizens, all, of the United States—over whom they have got the start; and can call on us for aid in keeping them down.

Illinois did not happen to alter the "legal status" of Abraham Lincoln some two years ago. So these gentlemen have escaped the unpleasant consequences of having their President calling out the army and navy to secure the return of a certain fugitive named "Abe," whom the police had nabbed, and whose right to the blessings of liberty absurd Abolitionists were defending. Illinois, or any other State, can make slaves of its people just as truly as it could bury them in caverns, or roast them at the stake and eat them—no more, no less. A State can lawfully do *beneficent and lawful things*; but it cannot do these devilish things to its own people nor any other people—or to be a citizen of the United States is a damning offence against God and man. Do not these legal Betties understand this, or will a little *hanging* of the Bench and the Bar make it clear to them? In great revolutions, violence is contagious. These men might handle more charily their infidel doctrines of force!

And now that, in our humiliation and sorrow for the past, we remember that, for so long a period, Davis commanded his armies and his lieutenants *ours*—administered his affairs, and, through his ubiquitous toadies and tools, our own also; that all the vast preparation for war was turned into hollow pretence, in which the only thing real was the generous and touching truthfulness and devotion of the people, the rotting in swamps and nameless graves of our strong-limbed youths, and the agony of mothers and sisters and orphans at home; that all this waste was part of a cowardly scheme to "put the rebellion down," but not to *put down the rebels*, who were to be exalted to power, and their rebellion bought off; in the peril of the near future, we ought to feel that we have no right to look idly on. TOCSIN.

COPPERHEAD DEMOCRACY ILLUSTRATED.

WE have copied on the fourth page a thrilling account of the funeral of Capt. Andre Cailloux, a mulatto soldier, a member of the First Regiment of Louisiana Native (colored) Guards, who fell at the head of his company while gallantly leading it in the assault upon Port Hudson on the 17th of May last. Capt. Cailloux was a man of great intelligence, and highly respected alike by Whites and Blacks, and his funeral was the most remarkable affair of the kind that ever took place in New Orleans. Let the reader turn to the fourth page and read the story for himself, as told by the correspondent of the New York *Times*; and then let him look at the terms in which the same event is spoken of by the New Orleans correspondent of that treasonable sheet, the New York *World:*

"A DEFUNCT DARKEY CANONIZED.

"Among the 'American citizens of African descent' that occupied those 'prominent positions' in the assault upon Port Hudson, May 27, was a well-known 'bull-nigger' of New Orleans named Cailloux. He was one of those much-praised native guards that had the choice between the batteries of their foes in front and the bayonets of their friends in the rear. Cailloux fell. His carcase lay rotting on the ground, exposed to sun and rain for forty-one days, from the date of the assault to the capitulation of Port Hudson. It is claimed by the official organ that these sacred remains 'were covered by the rebel sharpshooters'; 'but,' says the same paper, '*immediately* on the truce being declared, his body was taken possession of, and sent to this city in charge of a guard of honor.' Can it be possible this was the *immediate* business that followed the capitulation of a position which cost so much blood, so much treasure, and whose importance has been so highly estimated? For all this *you may look in vain in the official's published list for the name of Cailloux, or of any other negro killed or wounded before Port Hudson.* They were 'nothing but niggers,' and were not to be counted. It was well known here that Cailloux was killed. For weeks past scarcely a wench in the city has appeared in the streets without a crape rosette in memory of 'Saint Cailloux.' The corpse arrived here last Saturday, and we have the Federal organ's statement that it 'lay in state' till the day of the funeral.

"The obsequies and the canonization of this defunct darkey occurred last Tuesday. The Federal official organ devotes its second editorial column to a full description, with the following headings: 'Funeral of Andre Cailloux, Captain Company F, First Louisiana Native Guards; Immense Turnout of the Colored Population; the Procession Over a Mile Long; Societies Represented, etc., etc.' It was all so. Every negro almost in the city was in the procession. Negro men, women, and children thronged the banquettes; there were negro companies armed with United States rifles and bayonets, and negro 'officers' duly commissioned and uniformed as officers in the volunteer army of the United States. Nor were white men wanting in this procession. Thus, a white band, the Forty-second Massachusetts, 'performed' for this negro funeral; now and then a white driver appeared on the box of a hack full of negroes—here and there a white man in the procession duly exercised himself in keeping clear of the projecting heels in front of him. As the official report says: 'After moving through the principal down-town street the body was taken to the Bienville Street Cemetery, and there interred with military honors due to his rank.'

"Let us suppose that all this is 'all right.' I do not care to open the discussion whether the appointment of negroes to the offices of captains or lieutenants in the United States volunteer army is 'constitutional' or according to 'army regulations,' for 'obligations' of any kind would fail to influence the individual who is reported to have come to this department as a second-class Lazarus, and to have gone away, after a brief residence, a first-class Dives. This individual, who is somewhat sensitive on the subject of rank in the army, commissioned Cailloux a captain, and thus made this nigger rank every white lieutenant in the United States volunteer army from Portland, Maine, to Galveston, Texas. If it was right to do this, it was perfectly proper to accord to Cailloux, living or dead, 'the military honors due to his rank.'

"There are, however, matters connected with this proceeding, and the fulsome eulogy of the journal which is understood to be the organ of the General Commanding and his department, which admit of a criticism. It is an insult to every white gentleman bearing a commission in the United States volunteer army for the journal to quote from a negro paper, edited by a negro, the remarks about Cailloux's 'gallant bearing, his gentlemanly deportment, and his *capacities as a soldier.*' It is an insult to the entire white population of Louisiana to quote from the same negro sheet that this Cailloux was '*a true type of the Louisianian.*' It is an insult to every white volunteer in the United States army for the official organ to call a negro that was simply shoved into a ditch and there shot, 'a brave man and a gallant soldier.' . . . . . .

"These 'military honors' over a dead body which may have been Cailloux's, or that of any other of the numerous and nameless negroes that lay rotting in the ditches near Port Hudson, and the eulogy of the official organ, whatever may be their object, cannot fail in the effect they produce upon the public mind in America and abroad. *They show the relative position of white men and negroes in Louisiana to day.* . . . It is but just to those who hold commissions and to the great mass of the private soldiers in the Federal army to say that it must be excessively humiliating and galling to them to see these runaway negroes, these conscripted slaves, their equals in military rank, and their superiors in military honors."

We might quote more of the same stuff, but this is quite sufficient to illustrate the brutality and indecency of the presses which are seeking, by every means in their power, to give aid to the Southern rebellion. The affected concern of such creatures as the writer of the above, for the honor and dignity of the Anglo-Saxon race, it is quite unnecessary to characterize.

The spirit exhibited by this writer is identical with that which inspired the recent mob in this city. It was by just such appeals as this to the passions of the ignorant and brutal whites, repeated day after day by the Copperhead press, that our streets were made scenes of rioting and murder.

MARYLAND.—The Baltimore correspondent of *The Tribune*, speaking of the political situation of Maryland, says:

"The question is pure and simple now—Emancipator Slavery—not Union or Disunion, and we shall carry the State for Emancipation, right out square, in spite of Mr. Montgomery Blair's pink paper covered pamphlet recommending the expulsion of the black race from the United States as the legitimate complement of Emancipation! and in defiance of the pro-slavery organization with Maffit at its head for Controller. We have Gen. Goldsborough, a large slaveholder, pitted against Maffit, a Copperhead, and he will beat his non-slaveholding opponent two to one in the State. I hear glad tidings from the Eastern Shore, where both candidates live. Maffit, the pro-slavery mud-sill, will have to go under in presence of Goldsborough, the emancipation slaveholder. Mark what I say, at this day! Every day's events will enlarge Goldsborough's majority. Kentucky has given the Emancipation cause a bound forward that is irresistible."

PERSONAL.

Rev. N. E. Cobleigh, D. D., now President of McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill., has been appointed editor of *Zion's Herald*, in place of the Rev. Dr. Haven, elected President of the University of Michigan.

The report that President Lincoln was about to visit the White Mountains is now emphatically contradicted. The President's official duties are too pressing to allow him to take such a journey.

The touching tribute to Col. Shaw, which we have copied on the fourth page from *The Evening Post*, is, as our readers generally will infer, from the initials thereto appended, from the pen of Mrs. Child.

The Milan papers state that Garibaldi has become a perfect wreck. His health has given way, his wound is constantly breaking out afresh, in consequence of the exfoliation of the bone; and the neglect into which he has fallen, the loss of his popularity, and the death and imprisonment of his old friends, contribute to depress him still more than the physical injuries that have made him a cripple for life.

A Washington dispatch to *The Tribune*, dated on Monday, says: "Fred. Douglass arrived here this morning, and went to see the President, Secretary Stanton, and other members of the Cabinet. Mr. Douglass thanked the President for the issuing of the late order guaranteeing protection to colored troops. At the War Department he was deputized to join Adjt.-Gen. Thomas, and assist him in organizing colored regiments. He will proceed at once to the Mississippi."

Mr. William P. Powell of this city has been duly appointed a recruiting agent for the Colored Regiments now forming in Pennsylvania. His field of labor is the city of New York and its vicinity. He will shortly open an office in some suitable place, but for the present he may be seen at the Anti-Slavery office, 48 Beekman St. Mr. Powell has also been authorized by Secretary Welles to enlist colored seamen for the Navy. He is admirably qualified for the work he has undertaken, and we cannot doubt that he will meet with success.

The Buffalo *Commercial* learns that the proprietors of the Clifton House, Canada, recently gave Mr. Vallandigham notice to quit—circumstances having rendered the space occupied by that notorious individual preferable to his company. The "martyr," it is said, has taken up his abode with Sol. Davis, the keeper of the Museum. The "circumstances," according to the Toledo *Blade*, which the landlord assigned were "that since he had been there he had driven away the custom of all the Americans of any standing; that those who came to see him were 'roughs' and rowdies, who injured the reputation of his house by their drunkenness and rowdyism."

The President of the American Peace Society (Rev. Dr. Howard Malcom) has two sons upon whom the recent draft has fallen for service in the army. One is Rev. Charles Howard Malcom, pastor of the Second Baptist Church at Newport: and the other, Prof. Melville Malcom of Philadelphia. We notice by the Providence *Press* that Mr. Malcom preached a sermon lately upon "The National Lot," in which he urged obedience and devotion to the government; and the editor remarks in concluding his account of the services upon that occasion, "It is generally understood that Mr. Malcom will neither furnish a substitute nor pay the $300."

A Paris correspondent, writing July 21st, thus relates when and how the good news of the capture of Vicksburg was received in that city by the Americans:

"Just before the commencement of the service (Sunday, 19th), a young man entered, and procee

await Gen. Fremont's attack, and then to leave Missouri without once more trying the chances of a battle. He well knew how to inspire his men with confidence in his plans. And now that Gen. Fremont had caught us, as it were, in a net, what saved us? A battle? No; the government at Washington at this juncture deprived Fremont of his command. This caused a complete change in the enemy's plans, and allowed our Generals full scope to alter their positions. The Federal army was now compelled to beat a retreat, abandoning the rich district of Springfield to Gen. Price. The latter at once took possession of it and settled himself down comfortably for a time in the position abandoned by the enemy."

A CONSERVATIVE TALKING RADICALISM.

PROMINENT among the most stubborn conservative divines of the country before the rebellion broke out was the Rev. Dr. Hopkins, President of Williams College and of the American Board of Foreign Missions. It was by his influence and that of others like him that the American Church was kept in an attitude of hostility to the anti-slavery cause and of peace with the "peculiar institution." If the rebellion has not made him a Radical, it has at least set him to talking very much like one. We find in the Springfield *Republican* a sketch of his sermon before the class lately graduated at Williams College. His theme was Human Progress, in its most comprehensive sense, intellectual and religious; and this is the report of what he said about the war and its issues:

"The problem now convulsing the country, and steeping its soil in the blood of civil war, finds its solution in the doctrine of this discourse. In the grand providential movement making in this country, the people who have not come, but who have been brought here, are to be an important element. In the face of our public and solemn declaration of human equality, that in our own case we had maintained with blood, here were men endowed by their Creator with every natural right, who were deprived of these by statute and organic law. Thus aloof from the legitimate working of our institutions, the negro b came first an irreducible and then a disturbing element. It showed itself at every point. Everybody wished it out of the way, or said they did, and nobody knew what to do with it. Here was a call for enlargement, and the nation signally failed to meet it. Hence our civil war. Now the point of enlargement to which God is pressing us by the war, is *the full recognition of the manhood of the negro in all his rights as a man. If this point could be reached throughout the whole country to-morrow, our troubles would cease. When the black man shall be permitted to go where he pleases, to earn his own honest living in his own way, to enjoy all the natural rights of a man, and such civil rights as he is fitted for, the country will be quiet.* Those people are here by God's appointment, and we are not to narrow ourselves by prejudice, and fear that the heavens will fall if we apply to them impartially and fully these great principles of natural right which are surely from God, and which we have avowed before the world. It is the struggle between these and their opposite that is convulsing, and is yet to convulse, the nations."

If the nation had obeyed God's "call for enlargement" in respect to the oppressed—a call repeatedly and solemnly urged upon its attention by earnest-minded men, and enforced by all the stern warnings of the Bible—it would have escaped all the calamities of this civil war. That the nation so "signally failed to meet" that call is no matter of wonder, when it is considered that the American Church and Ministry, instead of setting the people an example of obedience, actually took the lead in deriding it and in scoffing at those who sought to enforce it.

HANGING THE TRUE EQUIVALENT FOR SLAVERY.—We are glad to find ourselves in agreement with a paper so influential as the Springfield *Republican* in regard to the proper way of retaliating for the sale of our colored soldiers into slavery. That paper, which usually makes it a point to disagree with the Radicals, in an article written just before the publication of the President's retaliatory order, said:

"The rebels are accused of murdering some of the wounded of the 54th at Fort Wagner. Whether this is true or not, they refuse to exchange them, as they have already exchanged our white soldiers, and the common talk of the rebels is that *the negro prisoners will be sold into slavery. Of course the government will retaliate if this threat is fulfilled, by hanging an equal number of rebel privates*, just as it will execute a rebel officer for every Federal officer executed because he commands colored troops."

It is a pity the President did not declare his purpose to do exactly what *The Republican* thought he would do "of course." The imprisonment of rebel soldiers is far from being a just or an adequate retaliation for the enslavement of our brave blacks. The rebels should be told that for every black Union soldier reduced to slavery a white rebel will be consigned to death upon a gallows.

BRITISH NEUTRALITY AND ANTI-SLAVERY.—The following ludicrous paragraph is taken from the London *Dispatch* of July 11th last, where it appears not as ironical, but in serious earnest. The friend, who sends it to us from England, says that *The Dispatch* is "a rampant pro-Southern paper." The committee are all *Tories* of the most unmitigated sort, very suitable associates and allies of the slaveholders and rebels of the South:

THE LATE GENERAL (STONEWALL) JACKSON.—A committee consisting of the Earl of Donoughmore, Lord Campbell, Lord Eustace Cecil, Sir C. E Kerrison, Bart., M.P., Mr. Gregory, M.P., Mr. W. S. Lindsay, M.P., Sir James Fergusson, Bart., M.P., the Hon. C. Fitzwilliam, M.P., Colonel Greville, M.P., the Hon. E. Duncombe, M.P., Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart., Mr. A. J. Beresford Hope, Mr. Peacocke, M.P. and other gentlemen has been formed for the purpose of obtaining from Great Britain a recognition of the worth of General Thomas J. Jackson, as a hero and a Christian. The committee have arranged with Mr. Foley, R.A., to execute a marble statue, heroic size, of the General, for £1,000, while £500 may be required for pedestal, inscription, and other extras. They state that it is not intended that subscriptions to the statue should imply any opinion on the merits of the American struggle. The completed statue is to be offered to Virginia.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

INCIDENTS IN MY LIFE: By D.D. HOME. With an Introduction by Judge EDMONDS. Pp. 315. New York: Carlton, 413 Broadway.

Mr. Home is perhaps the most remarkable of all that large class of persons called "spirit mediums," and he has given us in this volume a simple narrative of his experiences in that character. He was born in Edinburg, Scotland, in 1833, but came to America when he was about nine years old. His mother had the faculty known in Scotland as "second sight," and his own childhood seems to have been attended by the curious phenomena in connection with which his name has become so familiar to the public ear. The knowledge of this seems, however, to have been confined to his family and intimate friends until the "Rochester Knockings," so called, began to attract public attention. From this time until the end of March, 1855, he exercised his mediumship in different places, under a great variety of circumstances, and in the presence of many persons interested in the investigation of the strange phenomena, whose testimony as to what they witnessed is given in this work. In April, 1855, he went to England, where he at once commenced giving séances to anxious inquirers of all ranks and classes, from the peer to the artisan. Among those who sought opportunity to investigate the phenomena were Lord Brougham, Sir David Brewster, Mrs. Trollope, and J. J. G. Wilkinson; and the volume contains reports by the latter of what occurred at different times in presence of these and other eminent persons.

Mr. Home then went successively to Florence, Naples, Rome and Paris. His adventures in these places make a very interesting chapter, in which figure conspicuously the names of many eminent persons. At Naples he was told by "the spirits" that his power would leave him for one year. He subsequently went to Rome, where he joined the Catholic Church. From Rome he went to Paris, where he was told by the Père de Revignan, his spiritual adviser, that, as he was a Catholic, his strange power would not return. It did return, however, at the end of the year, according to the promise of "the spirits." The Père de Revignan was therefore greatly displeased, and he declared that he would not give him absolution if he did not refuse to listen to the rappings or to pay attention to any of the so-called spiritual phenomena. Another Priest, however, gave him advice of exactly an opposite character, and so he was able to exercise his powers as a medium without sacrificing his privileges as a Catholic. He was introduced to the Emperor and Empress, in whose presence the manifestations were very remarkable. Not long after this he came to the United States, but soon returned to Paris. He subsequently went to Holland, then to Italy, and finally to St. Petersburg, where he was married, Aug. 1, 1858, to the daughter of the Countess de Koucheleff, Alexander Dumas officiating as godfather. The manifestations have continued from that time till the present, and have been witnessed by many eminent persons in Russia, Italy, France and England. The testimony of some of the most important of these witnesses is presented in the book.

The Introduction by Judge Edmonds is a very candid statement of his own experience in the investigation of Spiritualism, and of the reasons why the whole subject should be still further examined by men of science and learning.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The Washington *Star* of Monday evening says: "We are able to assure the public that the military prospect in every quarter is all that can be desired. The information that has reached here during the last forty-eight hours treats almost exclusively of details that cannot prudently be published, but we have no hesitation in saying that at no former period of the war have our military affairs been in so promising a condition as at present." The same paper says: "Perhaps a thousand conscripts a day are already joining the Army of the Potomac. In a week the number reaching it daily will be greater. They go forward in excellent spirits, and bid fair to make admirable soldiers in a very brief time."

The advices from Charleston to Friday, 7th inst. received by way of Fortress Monroe, state that the siege was progressing favorably. There was nothing new of importance to report.

A rebel Lieutenant who has recently deserted from Lee's army and came within our lines, brings reports indicating an almost hopeless condition of affairs for the rebel "Confederacy." Great dissatisfaction is said to exist among the North Carolina, Tennessee and Mississippi troops, who are anxious to return to their respective States. The North Carolinians are especially clamorous, and declare that once at home, they will throw down their arms and abandon the rebel cause. The troops from the Southwestern States say that there is no use in further resistance, since Vicksburg and Port Hudson have fallen.

Gen. Meade has been so much troubled by resident rebels in Virginia, who play the loyalist by day and destroy railroads by night, that he has ordered that hereafter, when any damage is done to the roads, the people within ten miles of the place will be forced to make the necessary repairs. If this does not stop the depredations, he will send the entire population of the locality beyond his lines, and take their property for government use.

The Cincinnati *Commercial* says that Gov. Tod has gone to see the President, and adds: "An important meeting of distinguished personages will come off in Washington within the next ten days, at which grave questions bearing on the present aspect of the rebellion will be discussed."

It is reported that the rebel guerilla Richardson has returned to West Tennessee, with the requirements to carry out the conscription. It is said he has instructions to conscript all light-colored negroes between 18 and 45, to serve three years as soldiers, *at the expiration of which time they will be manumitted, but receive no pay for service.*

We learn that the Unionists of Eastern North Carolina are about to hold a convention to urge upon the Union government the policy of pushing into North Carolina a force sufficient to occupy Weldon, Wilmington and Raleigh. This done, they think the rebels would be compelled to abandon both North Carolina and Virginia, and both States might be at once reattached to the Union.

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom."—Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION AND THE CONTRABANDS.
From The St. Louis Journal.

HEADQUARTERS FREEDMEN,
HELENA, Ark., July 24, 1863.

As the military men of the country are to form an important part of the history of the suppression of the rebellion, it may be well for the mass of the people to understand their record, and more especially that part which refers to the disposition of the freedmen. I will give you one case as it stands upon the records of this office. Mrs. Louisa T. Campbell, of Springfield, Missouri, represents that she left Springfield last February for Mississippi, on Yazoo river. Eleven of her servants left Springfield September 1, 1861. They went on Yazoo river five miles below Greenwood, Miss., on the plantation of John Campbell, son of Louisa T. Campbell. They went in charge of Thomas Campbell, now deceased. Thomas returned to Springfield after conveying the colored people to Mississippi, and went again to Mississippi. He was a member of the Southern army. The servants have been employed on the plantation of John Campbell since January 1st, 1863, who was also a member of the Southern army. He left the army on account of disability. Mrs. Louisa T. Campbell left her son's, John Campbell, on Yazoo river, July 13—in company with nine colored women and children of her own, and eleven other colored people claimed by some persons not known—for Missouri, reached the Mississippi river twenty-five miles north of Helena, Arkansas, on July 23. While making preparations for crossing the river, the gunboat Covington, Captain Lord, coming down, interrupted her plans, took on board the twenty colored people, herself and granddaughter, who accompanied her, and brought them to Helena. The Captain turned them (the colored people) over to the Superintendent of Contrabands, Chaplain Samuel Sawyer, who immediately provided for them. Louisa T. Campbell, on July 24, called upon Brig. Gen. L. F. Ross, commanding (in absence of Maj.-Gen. Prentiss), who told her she might take the colored persons with her as they were her property. She said she did not wish to free them, but wished to get them home on her own plan.

The above are Mrs. Campbell's own statements, nearly her own language, as the records of this office show.

This morning an order was sent to this office of which the following is a copy:

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST-MARSHAL,
DISTRICT OF EASTERN ARKANSAS,
HELENA, July 24.

CAPTAIN: Will you please show to the young girl who accompanies the Orderly to your headquarters the contrabands that were turned over to you by the officer of the gunboat last evening.

You will allow her to fetch nine (9) back to this office of the number that were turned over to you, and which will be recognized as her mother's negroes by her.

By order of Brig.-Gen. ROSS.
M. G. TOWNSEND, Captain and Provost-Marshal.
—— MONTEITH, Lieutenant.

Immediately on receiving the above, the Superintendent directed the writer who represents him to proceed to the office of the Provost-Marshal and ask Mr. Townsend for a copy of Gen. Ross's order. His reply was that Gen. Ross had been at his office and made the order verbal; it was no written order from the General. The writer stated to Mr. Townsend that Mr. Sawyer wanted the order, as he would give free papers to the colored persons in question. Mr. Townsend replied that he did not care whether or not Mr. Sawyer gave them free papers, and said to the writer, "Tell Mr. Sawyer to have them people forthcoming at his office, or that he (Townsend) would arrest the Superintendent and fetch him there." The nine persons of color in question were brought to the office of the Superintendent and acquainted with the truth by the Superintendent himself, that they were forever free, and made so by the President's proclamation, and that their mistress wished to take them back into Missouri, where they would be slaves. He informed them that if they returned to Missouri they would do so of their own free will; that no force could or should be used to compel them to go with their pretended owner, Mrs. Louisa T. Campbell, that the colored persons replied that if they were free they would remain free, and did not evince any disposition whatever to go further than the office of the Superintendent with their mistress.

Thereupon Mr. Sawyer addressed Brig.-Gen. Ross in the following language:

HEADQUARTERS FREEDMEN,
HELENA, Ark., July 24th, 1863.

Brig.-Gen. Ross, Commanding:

The servants claimed by Mrs. Louisa T. Campbell are at this office, and they are unwilling to go with her. Freed by the President's proclamation they are loth to risk slavery further. Mrs. Campbell says she considers them as slaves; that she does not wish or intend to free them; that she will hold them as slaves as long as she can. The servants say that Mrs. Campbell's two sons, John and Thomas, were in the insurgent army, and from the manner their mistress speaks they all avow their unwillingness to go with her, unless under compulsion. They say they will try to support themselves. The whole case is referred to your headquarters. Respectfully,

SAMUEL SAWYER,
Superintendent of Contrabands.

The above was considered and returned to the Superintendent, with the following endorsement:

HEADQUARTERS DEPT. EASTERN ARKANSAS,
HELENA, Ark., July 24.

The case of these negroes rests wholly with themselves to decide. It would be far better for them to return to Missouri than to remain here. *The General Commanding would prefer that they should go for their own good and that of the government.* And since the Emancipation ordinance has been adopted it would hardly be returning to slavery. Deeming it proper, however, to leave the question with them, *he trusts that no persuasion has been or will be used to retain them.* By order of

Brig.-Gen. ROSS.
M. S. KIMBALL, Assistant Adjutant General.

THE FIRST COLORED KANSAS REGIMENT.

We gave an account, not long since, of the valiant conduct of this regiment in the enagement on the Neosho, between Fort Scott and Fort Blunt. Subsequently the force under Gen. Blunt, of which this regiment forms a part, attacked the enemy at Honey Springs, C. N. The enemy was 6,000 strong, while Gen. Blunt had only 3,500. After a severe struggle the enemy was put to flight. The correspondent of the St. Louis *Democrat*, describing the battle, says: "I cannot forbear noticing the conduct of both officers and men of the 1st Kansas, colored. This regiment, under their fighting Colonel (Williams), came up nobly to the work. They advanced to within forty paces of the enemy, who then opened upon them a terrible fire of buckshot. This volley mostly passed over their heads, and their Colonel was felled from his horse by three different shots, just after he had given the command to fire, and while he was in the act of commanding a 'charge bayonet.' Now the hottest part of the work commenced; the blacks fought with a courage rarely equaled."

CASUALTIES IN THE NEGRO REGIMENTS.

So much has been said by the rebel journals of the South, and the semi-rebel papers of the North, about the immense slaughter of colored troops before Port Hudson, that we deem it proper to state the simple facts, and let the public judge what grounds there were for applying such terms as "wholesale massacre of the negroes," "negro slaughter pen," etc., to the case. There were engaged in the siege of Port Hudson two regiments of colored troops, the First and Third, both together numbering 1,245 men. Of these 28 were killed, 123 wounded by gunshots and 46 by falling trees, making the total casualties 197. Many of the wounds were slight, from which the sufferers have since recovered.—*New Orleans Era.*

MORALITY OF COLORED TROOPS.

Chaplain Mars, writing from Newbern, N. C., to the Springfield *Republican*, says: "I am Chaplain of the First Regiment of Colored Volunteers, in Wilde's brigade, commanded by Col. Beecher, a brother of Rev. H. W. Beecher, and I will assure you that this regiment is not a whit behind any regiment as to neatness in appearance, accuracy of drill, or morals. I have not seen one man under the influence of whiskey, or anything that makes men fools, since I have been out here; and I mingle with some 1,500 of them almost every day; and there is but very little profane language used among them. Nine out of ten of this regiment were slaves. Many of them are religious, and they seem to understand the position they occupy, and you may rest assured that when they are led out to battle, they will give a good account of themselves. We have a fair chance here to see what slavery has been, and now is. Every day there are men brought in from the rebel lines, maimed, and with scars of cuts and wounds they have worn for years, and many of them are crippled so that they are unable to work."

THE FREEDMEN ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

Gen. Grant has adopted the plan of hiring out the freedmen to their old masters, under proper restrictions and guarantees, whenever it is practicable. In the region back of Natches, planters having cotton crops have offered their old slaves half their crop if they would take hold and gather it; but in a number of these cases the offers have been refused. The negroes, however, will work for Northern men or for the government gladly. The "attachment of slaves to their masters," in pro-slavery logic, does not manifest itself in Mississippi any more than in Louisiana or Virginia.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S RETALIATORY ORDER.

WASHINGTON, Saturday, Aug. 8, 1863.

The following official communication from Secretary Stanton proves that the recent Order No. 252, of President Lincoln, is to be fully carried out. When the gunboat Isaac Smith was captured by the rebels in the Stono River, some months since, among the prisoners taken were three colored men. At the time the officers of the gunboat were released these men were in close confinement, and their release was refused, and has never been granted. Upon the authoritative declaration of the policy of the government in such cases, the Secretary of the Navy called the attention of Mr. Stanton to their cases, and it will be seen that he makes it the occasion of a prompt enforcement of the order. The President is determined that the rights, as prisoners of war, of all who are captured while in the service of the United States, shall be respected, irrespective of color, otherwise the sternest retaliation will be exacted:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY,
August 3, 1863.

SIR: Your letter of the 3d inst., calling the attention of this department to the cases of Orin H. Brown, William H. Johnson and William Wilson, three colored men captured on the gunboat Isaac Smith, has received consideration. This department has directed that three rebel prisoners of South Carolina, if there be any such in our possession, and if not, three others, be confined in close custody and held as hostages for Brown, Johnson, and Wilson, and that the fact be communicated to the rebel authorities at Richmond.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

The Hon. GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy.

BLACK RECRUITS IN MARYLAND.
Correspondence of The Tribune.

Baltimore, Aug. 6.—Col. Birney's Maryland regiment of colored troops now numbers 860. I shall go out to see it drill and parade this afternoon, and will report progress in my next letter. The 2d regiment is well under way. This will be made up of a better class of colored men than the first, because of the President's proclamation of protection. It strikes the right key. Remember—there is no bounty given these men. They are volunteering without mercenary motives. What a contrast with the boasted superior white race that waits for $400 bounty, or to be drafted! We hope to get at least five regiments of colored soldiers from this State to make part of the President's colored army of 200,000 men, which he is resolved to have in the field before the 1st of November. Why do not New York colored people wake up and volunteer also? Let them show their riotous and Copperhead persecutors where the manhood of the human race is to be found. We know your mob-loving Governor will not move a finger to encourage enlistments, but Mr. Lincoln will. In conversing with one of the highest officers of the government, a few days since, a man born and educated in a slave State, and who was once, and, I think, still is a slaveholder, he expressed the greatest anxiety that the President should succeed in gathering a colored army of 200,000 men. "They are necessary," said he, "to insure the triumph of the cause of the Union, the cause of human liberty, without which the Union cannot be preserved. What a glorious death, that of Shaw's!" he exclaimed. "It was the death of a martyr to truth. He fell waving his sword, and he lies buried with 25 of his heroic black soldiers. Noble grave! From it will spring a monument that will last as long as the world will last. He has proved that to the negro race belongs manhood as noble as that asserted by the white man." I could make the country thrill with joy if I were at liberty to give you the name of this noble white man who recognizes to the full the common manhood of the black man in these days of apostacy.

Church Creek, Dorchester Co., Md., July 27, 1863.—I have just returned from Cambridge, our County town, where I have witnessed the departure of 100 colored men, stalwart ones, too, who have volunteered to fight for the Union. Though of course no slaves were allowed to go, yet I think this is a big thrust at the "peculiar institution." There were six poor fellows, by State law the property of white men, some of whom profess to be Union men, who attempted to go, but the slaveholders' lackeys were on hand to collar and haul them out of the ranks to let their places be filled by the sons of their white neighbors. It is strange, too, that slaves—things made by Deity to be owned, and therefore must necessarily love to be slaves—should wish to sacrifice the many comforts provided by their natural owners, for the toils, privations, and dangers of war. But notwithstanding that rebels and pro-slavery men prophesied they would not, and used their influence to prevent, and misrepresented the treatment they would receive, etc., still the free would, and the slaves tried, to enlist. We expect the County to send 200 more, and that the Eastern Shore will raise a regiment. The anti-slavery men rejoice in the belief that this locality is the first in a loyal (?) slave State to send a full company of negroes to the field. The cause of universal man moves on.

NO MORE SLAVE-CATCHING.
From The St. Louis Democrat.

A most important order (No. 75) from Gen. Schofield, is published in this morning's paper. It cites the Act of Congress which prohibits all officers of the United States from employing any of the forces under their command for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor, and declares that the scope of this prohibition, shall extend to *all* troops in this department, including the enrolled militia of Missouri in active service.

We are truly rejoiced to observe that Gen. Schofield has at last discovered the vicious workings of the policy indicated in his slave-catching Order No. 63. This we tried to make him see several days ago. Order No. 75 knocks No. 63 as "cold as a wedge."

The Copperheads and Conservatives of this State have had a short-lived triumph. Odon Guitar's occupation's gone. No more nigger-catching for McFerran, Broadhead, Switzler & Co. had better resign. Let us hear now what *The Republican* has to say about Order No. 75. Does it still believe in that perfect understanding between Governor Gamble and Gen. Schofield. No more negro-hunting and catching by the military of this State! We breathe freer.

The following is the Order referred to above:

HEADQUARTERS DEP'T OF THE MISSOURI,
ST. LOUIS, MO., July 29, 1863.

GENERAL ORDER, No. 75.—The Act of Congress approved March 13th, 1863, prohibits all officers, or persons in the military service of the United States, from employing any of the forces under their command for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor.

To prevent misapprehension as to the scope of this prohibition, it is hereby declared to extend to *all* troops in this department, including the enrolled militia of Missouri in active service.

The latter being under the command of Major-General Commanding the Department, cannot be permitted to aid civil officers in the arrest or return of fugitive slaves.

By command of Maj.-Gen. SCHOFIELD.
C. W. MARSH, A. A. G.

The loyal people of the State will rejoice and take courage and hope from this Order. It defeats or will defeat, if enforced, the object for which Governor Gamble by having other U. S. troops withdrawn from the State, has been laboring for a year past—that is, to make slave-catchers of the enrolled militia. With a pro-slavery man and a slaveholder like Guitar in command, and under the license permitted by General Order No. 63, the enrolled militia were freely used as instruments not only to catch and guard slaves of rebels, but to persecute and harass true Union men. We trust Gen. Schofield will see that this order is enforced, but that General Guitar shall not be allowed to prosecute or disarm the loyal people. He has shown himself utterly unworthy of the position he holds, and he should be dismissed.

Let some officer who is heartily in favor of the Administration and its measures be put in his place. Under the license of Order No. 63, as construed, the Copperheads of the State with the aid of pro-slavery Generals, were preparing to make this State a vast slave hunting-ground. The negro-stealers had became so bold and impudent as to invade the Missouri Hotel in this city where the contrabands are kept, in pursuit of pretended slaves, and demanded as a right to search the premises. There are persons prowling around this city and around the State who make it their business to abduct negroes and take them to Kentucky and sell them. Fictitious and forged bills of sale are made out and used to get the negroes across the river, and away from the State. We trust that Gen. Schofield, if he is in earnest in protecting loyal people, and punishing traitors, will keep a vigilant eye upon the negro-stealers and their allies.

LAZARUS AND DIVES.

Cairo, Aug. 8.—Yesterday I noticed a clerk in the grocery-house of Trover and Miller busily marking a large number of packages to the direction of the "Sutler of the 11th Louisiana Regiment, Milliken's Bend." There were kegs of butter, boxes of cheese, cases of canned fruit, of pickles and sardines, as well as several other similar kind of goods. I passed along without thinking further of the matter, when at another house I saw several men packing ice in large casks and boxes by placing thick layers of straw around the sides, leaving two or three hundred pounds of ice in the centre. On inquiring whither this was going, I was told to the 11th Louisiana Regiment, Milliken's Bend. All at once I remembered that this is the negro regiment which suffered so severely, and which fought so bravely at the battle of Milliken's Bend.

How can one help thinking in these thinking days? Formerly when the slave was wounded, by flogging or otherwise, it was customary to dress the wound with brine. The negro soldiers have $10 a month, and they can buy such things as the sutler has to sell, and for the first time in their lives do they taste butter and cheese. This is saying a surprising thing of a class of laborers on whom distant and proud cities depended for their commercial prosperity, and the whole of the civilized world for fully one-half of its clothing. What wonderful changes do we behold! Our lisping daughter was born while the masters of these soldiers enjoyed every comfort; and in particular, ice, but now they are as destitute as ever were their slaves.

Let one imagine to himself, a planter standing on the opposite bank of the Mississippi and beholding the camp of the 11th Louisiana. No hostile foe dare approach, for there are iron-clads near, and without them they can give a sturdy battle. The planter may not only sigh that they are his slaves no longer, but also sigh for what they enjoy. At a distance he may see—he cannot draw nearer. Naturally will the mind think of Lazarus and Dives, and recall the following passage:

"And in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torment, and seeth Abraham affar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented. And, beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed," etc. The rest of the chapter is worth reading, in fact, and while one is about it he might read the whole Book.—N. C. M.—*Tribune.*

COLORED LABORERS AND COMMISSIONS IN COLORED ORGANIZATIONS.

The following Order in regard to colored laborers and commissions in colored organizations has been issued by General Rosecrans:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT CUMBERLAND,
WINCHESTER, Tenn., July 23, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 172.—To avoid misapprehensions and correct certain evils now existing in regard to colored persons coming within the lines of this army. It is ordered:

First. That all officers commanding troops in the field will conscript and employ such able-bodied negroes as are allowed by law for teamsters, cooks, laundresses, quartermasters, laborers and servants to officers who, by law, are permitted to employ soldiers, taking the servants of loyal people only in case of necessity, and always leaving such as may be absolutely requisite for the care of the families. Every cook or teamster shall be properly enrolled and mustered into service, according to law, without delay. Every other employee or servant must be enrolled by the quartermaster of the command in which he is employed.

Officers entitled to have a soldier for servant will be permitted to employ servants from such enrolled persons, for whom they will furnish requisitions approved by the superior officer of the command. The quartermaster will thereupon enter the name of the officer on the rolls opposite the name of the servant, and will give the servant a certificate of the assignment, giving the name of his officer, which certificate the servant must be directed to preserve and have renewed if worn out or lost. No wages of servants will be permitted without notifying the quartermaster, that he may issue certificates and note the changes on his rolls.

The officers having such servants will drop the charge for servants from their pay accounts as in case of having soldiers for servants, and the servant will be paid by the quartermasters as other employees. For all negroes employed, in pursuance of this Order, the officer conscripting or employing shall, on application, furnish the owner or claimant a descriptive roll certifying that the person described is employed in the service of the United States, and in what manner. Duplicate descriptive rolls of all negroes in camps, and at the posts in this department, will be made without delay.

Second. To prevent vagrancy, demoralization, immoralities, and expense to the government, all officers are forbidden to admit within their lines and harbor runaway negroes, unless their services are needed, or in cases where humanity demands it. In these cases, lists of the persons admitted and the reasons for their admittance will be forwarded to the Provost Marshal General of the department without delay.

Third. To insure protection and prompt payment to colored persons employed in the engineer department, or as laborers, they will be organized and mustered into service by detachments or companies as infantry, and then assigned to duty. Applicants for commissions in these organizations will be examined, and if qualified, appointed and commissioned pursuant to instructions from the War Department.

Fourth. In the absence of civil law commanders of troops will exert their authority to prevent injustice and disorders, whether coming from their masters or their servants, requiring each to perform their legal duties, wherever intervention is practicable, and demanded by justice and humanity.

By command of Major-General ROSECRANS.

OUR DEFENDERS AT BATON ROUGE AND PORT HUDSON.

A correspondent of *The Times* gives a very interesting account of a trip from New Orleans to Baton Rouge, Port Hudson and Natchez, by a very distinguished party, among whom were Maj.-General Banks and a large number of subordinate military officers, the British Consul at New Orleans, etc., etc. The writer says:

"At Baton Rouge we found the fortifications, which are among the most splendid constructions of the kind in the United States, completely manned by colored troops; a more orderly, stalwart, efficient and well-drilled set of men it would be difficult to meet. One evening a body of their infantry was so posted as to receive Gen. Banks with due honors; and, after we returned from the fortifications, they were put to light artillery practice. To see the precision, exactness, and Frenchified elegance with which each man went through his manœuvres, the evident *pride* he seemed to take in his work, elicited praise from every officer who witnessed it. I was sitting by Gen. Weitzel's side, and heard him say that nothing could be better; and Weitzel is a soldier if there is one living.

"We arrived at Port Hudson at 2 p.m., July 30. Descending from the vessel and mounting the steep declivity, a splendid body of colored troops met the General in truly regal style. . . . I took another and fuller view of the terrific battle-ground where Col. Nelson's colored regiment fought with such terrific bravery, and, although the five or six feet depth of water through which they had to wade before reaching those almost perpendicular bluffs, is now dried up, there is enough left to make one wonder how anything in human shape could have undertaken such a task. Yet those men, whose race are only fit to be butchered by New York ruffians, went at it *six different times!*"

HUNG FOR MURDER.

Private George W. Johnson, 4th Reg. Delaware Volunteers, was tried before a Military Commission at Fort Yorktown, Va., in May last, and convicted and sentenced to be hung for the murder of a black man named James Holland. The President directed that the sentence be carried into execution.

SURGEONS WANTED FOR COLORED REGIMENTS.

There is a great want of white surgeons for colored regiments. Surgeons wishing commissions in colored regiments will make application to Surgeon-Gen. Hammond, when, if they stand the examination of the Medical Board, they will be immediately commissioned. None but first-class men will be accepted. Surgeons thus receiving commissions will receive the same rank and pay as surgeons of white regiments.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

GROWTH OF COLORED REGIMENTS.

The 3d Colored Regiment, encamped at Camp William Penn, has been full since the 24th of July. The roster, however, is yet incomplete, owing to the care taken by government in selecting the officers to take charge of the men. Scores have presented themselves, yet many have been rejected. At the present time there have been placed on the list of officers a Colonel and Major, Adjutant and Quartermaster, and about half of the Lieutenants necessary to complete the roster of this regiment. The regiment was filled in a very short time, and with about half the expense of the Boston regiment. Subordination has been a marked characteristic of the colored troops. Already another regiment has been started, the ranks of which are fast filling up, two companies having been completed, and the third having been partially filled. The government is also much interested in this movement, a vigilant eye being kept over all the interests of colored regiments. Large numbers are offering themselves at the headquarters for admission into their ranks, and the prospect of an increased number of colored regiments is very encouraging.—*Phila. Inquirer.*

THOSE WHO SUFFER from nervous irritations, itching uneasiness, and the discomfort that follows from an enfeebled and disordered state of the system, should take AYER'S SARSAPARILLA, and cleanse the blood. Purge out the lurking distemper that undermines the health, and constitutional vigor will return.

Summary.

Punch says that the king of Dahomey intends to send a deputation to England remonstrating against white slavery there, as illustrated in the case of a London milliner girl killed by want of sleep and air.

SUFFERING IN RICHMOND.—A Washington dispatch to *The Times*, dated on Sunday last, says: "A refugee, who arrived here to-day from Richmond, says that great suffering prevails there among the poorer classes, in consequence of the scarcity and high prices of provisions. Coal sells at $80 per ton, and other necessaries at equally exorbitant rates. Brokers refuse to exchange gold for Confederate money, but take State notes, though at an enormous discount. When our informant left, gold was held at thirteen hundred per cent. premium.

In Wheeling, Va., recently, a soldier in pursuit of a deserter had occasion to fire at him. For this the Copperhead Mayor fined the soldier $10. Hearing of this affair, Gov. Boreman sent for the Mayor and lectured him in this wise:

"Sir, you were aware that this soldier was acting in accordance with the authority he has received, and is justifiable in all that he did. Now, sir, hand over to him the $10 you took from him, and get $500 bail for your future good conduct. If you cut up any more such didoes, I'll put you where the dogs won't bite you."

DESTITUTION IN THE COTTON STATES.—*Cairo, Aug. 4.*—Something should be said of the destitution which at this time exists in the Cotton States. From abundant sources we learn that families there are actually starving; that thousands of rich folks, so called, have seen no wheat bread for more than a year, while corn in a majority of places is very scarce. It is important to consider that the rebel armies do not now hold a single district of any extent which is good for raising grain, except sacked and resacked Virginia. Our armies hold them all. This fact alone must show that the last days of the rebellion are near.—*Tribune.*

"At a recent sale of slaves at Lockville, Md., seven young, full-grown, able-bodied 'hands' brought together $126, or $18 a head."—*Exchange.*

Well, we would not give $18 a head for 100 of the best slaves in this State. They are worth a great deal more as compensated laborers, but they are not worth it as slaves. Slave property is fast losing its value, and all who are not purblind with prejudice see it and feel it. The question of emancipation is a living, practical one in this State; it is upon us, and we must settle it. We are as well convinced that the people of Tennessee will pass an Emancipation Ordinance before twelve months as we are that they ought to do it.—*Nash. Union.*

SCENE IN THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.—A few black regiments placed among the soldiers of the Potomac army would do it good. A gentleman has described to me a scene of which he was recently an eye-witness in that army. Riding with an English gentleman he came across some of the soldiers, and the Englishman desiring some conversation with them, they drew up. Among the questions asked was this, "How do you like Gen. Meade?" "Oh, we don't care anything about Meade; McClellan's our daddy!" Just then a poor contraband came limping along, quietly, and minding his own business, when some twenty or more of these children of the great Mc shouted out, "There's one of Greeley's men," began to throw stones at him and followed him with hooting and derision some distance in spite of remonstrances.—"*Warrington*," *in The Springfield Republican.*

VALUE OF SLAVES IN SOUTHERN KENTUCKY.—The Nashville *Union* says:

"We have conversed recently with several large slaveholders from Southern Kentucky. They say that the decline in the price of slaves is from thirty to fifty per cent., the average decline being nearer the latter figure. The price of a slave depends almost wholly on his personal situation and feelings. A steady slave who has a wife on or near his owner's farm is considered valuable in his neighborhood. But slaves brought from a distance, or young men and women who have no domestic ties to bind them, or slaves who have ever manifested a disposition to run off, will not bring any price at all. They are considered as intangible as the wind. A man would as soon think of investing his money in a contingent interest in a flock of wild pigeons, or a school of herring swimming in mid ocean, as to invest it in such fugacious children of Ham."

ANOTHER STATE COMING.—Another new State will soon stand at the door of the Union claiming admission into the family circle. On the second of September the people of Nevada territory will elect delegates to a Constitutional Convention, by which the machinery for a State government will be put in motion. The territory was organized in March, 1861, and has a population of some sixty thousand. It lies West of 115 degrees of longitude and North of about 38 degrees of latitude, having Utah on the East, Oregon on the North and California on the West. The whole territory is rich in mineral wealth, seven of its nine organized Counties having mines of either gold or silver, while its agricultural resources adapt it to populous settlement and guarantee stable prosperity. It is not improbable that Nevada will be regularly admitted as a State at the next session of Congress, adding another Commonwealth to the galaxy of free States.

SERVED HIM RIGHT.—On Monday afternoon of last week, Mr. H——, of Hastings, on his way home from the depot, invited a friend to take a seat in his carriage. While on the road they entered into conversation in relation to the disturbances in the city, and the murder of the negroes. Mr. H.'s coachman interrupted the conversation by saying, "Be jabers, I hope they'll cut the throat of every d—d nagur." Mr. H. instantly ordered him to stop the horses, and getting out, ordered the coachman to come down from the box. John inquired what was wanted, and was informed by Mr. H. that no man who expressed such sentiments should remain in his employ for a moment after they were uttered, and repeated his order to the man to come down, but was answered that, "Be dad, an' I won't." A repetition of the order with a view of a revolver to enforce it was sufficient. Mr. H. took the re

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE DYING FLOWER.

FROM THE GERMAN OF VICTOR VON STRAUSS.

Ah! thou human floweret noble,
Who didst plant my tiny seed,
Bore me daily to the sunlight,
Brought fresh water at my need,
Till the color-wreath of beauty,
That within me hidden lay,
Gleaming in the sunlight's splendor,
Burst from its dark veil away;—

Wherefore now thy glances downcast?
Wherefore are thine eyes so red?
Do not sorrow, sweet protectress,
Though thy nursling soon be dead.
I must die, again must wither,
To the dust from whence I came,
Yet I perish in rejoicing
That I was, and that I am.

But a perishable atom,
From the Elemental Sea,
In whose whirl I was entangled,
The Creator's hand took me.
Then His breath, my being thrilling,
Wakened me from Death's dark night;
Life and color, form and fragrance,
Dreamed I 'neath His quickening light.

And I then, His breath inhaling,
Felt such forces in me rife,
That a crowd of slumbering atoms
Was attracted to my life.
And the strength He lavished on me,
I on them did freely shower,
Then came buds, and leaves, and branches,
Then the fresh and fragrant flower.

Oft His light has gently kissed me,
In my heart has rung His call,
And I was a hymn of praise
Unto Him who gave me all.
On His robe I was one jewel,
Was one grace before His throne,
All my beauty, all my fragrance,
Consecrate to Him alone.

Tell me, have I then perfected
That which hidden in me lay?
Tell me, have I e'er revealed
What was stamped on me for aye?
To my earth-bound sleep I carry
Back a very blessed prize,
For I perish in my gladness
That I am, and that I was.

What I was, again becoming,
Moving on at His behest,
'Mid a crowd of slumbering atoms,
In dreams of future life, I rest.
Yes, a longing take I with me,
Yes, a wearying for His light,
But, the pledged fulfilment bringing,
Lo! the day dawns on our sight.

For there yet shall shine a morning,
When we see the Lord descend,
And the splendor from Him flowing,
Light to us, the dust, shall lend,
That from off earth's weary creatures,
Shall the tomb's dark shadows roll,
And anew shall marry Nature
To the ever-living Soul.

Then by Him kissed so divinely,
I, more beautiful, more sweet,
'Mid Creation's choir resplendent,
Lay my off'rings at His feet.
Yet how long, how long to suffer?
Yet how long this weary pain?
Sorrowing now I sink to slumber,
Hoping to arise again.

FOR THE ANTI SLAVERY STANDARD.

LUCIA.

A STORY IN THREE PARTS.

PART II.

It was a great and unexpected change to me, after the beautiful wooded hills, and low, fertile valleys, watered by pleasant streams, which surrounded my old home, to find myself in a quiet, monotonous village, where everything was one dull, uniform level—no hills nor valleys, only sluggish streams, that flowed on without a murmur. I thought at first I could not content myself to stay there even for a few days, and to think of making my home there for months to come, was not to be thought of even for a moment. But my new friends were such unaffectedly good people, and were withal so kind and agreeable, so anxious to make my time pass pleasantly, that insensibly I grew more reconciled to my new mode of life. I knew that the wisest and best thing I could do was to remain, and while my father stayed I strove to appear light-hearted and happy. After he had gone, my false spirits left me, and for several weeks I was so thoroughly heart sick and homesick, I thought a more miserable being than myself did not exist in the wide world. I used to sit for hours by the window, with my hands folded listlessly in my lap, looking at the students as they passed by. It was the only thing in the village that had the slightest interest for me. It was such a motley throng, possessed of so much character, and of such infinite variety, I never wearied of watching them. For there came gay youths and maidens, earnest young men and women; beautiful quadroons, with their soft, sad eyes and graceful forms; blue eyed and rosy-cheeked daughters of the North; and side by side, with his fairer brother, walked the swarthy descendant of the despised African. All different, and yet alike in the same eager and burning desire to obtain knowledge. For the first time I met with those who seemed to have a high and holy purpose in living, and the serious, thoughtful bearing which characterized them bore witness to the earnestness with which they sought to fulfil that purpose. I thought the millennium had come.

The daughters of the house were regular students in the College at A——, and by and by they persuaded me to accompany them to their recitations. In a little while I became interested in their studies, but I fear it was more for the sake of pastime than any decided love of books that induced me to become a member of their class. Perhaps unconsciously I was actuated by another motive, but I should have been loath to acknowledge it to myself then. On our way to the class-room we frequently met a young Sophomore, who possessed a face and form so much superior to ordinary men, that he never failed to challenge remark from the most careless observer. My attention had early been directed towards him by my cousins, as one of the most promising of the students, who was regarded with especial favor by the Faculty. He had a noble head, a face not strictly handsome, but full of a subtle, indefinable beauty, which made one long to know more of the possessor. But it was not the beauty of his face alone which drew me to him, but the intensely mournful expression which hung like a dark veil over his whole countenance. I had long thought, selfish egotist as I was, that no sorrow was like unto mine; but when I met Paul Verree, I felt instinctively that he was one who had gone down to lower depths than I had ever sounded. It was not long before we knew each other, and then we became friends. I knew not what it was in me that attracted him; perhaps it was my apparent gayety and light-heartedness; perhaps I amused him as a child might do; or it might be that he, who was always so grave and reticent with others, and whose life was so busy and earnest, was glad to lay aside his gravity at times, to laugh and be merry with me. I thought so then, oh! how bitterly at times, for I had grown strangely humble in those days. I never dreamed of his loving me, but in an unguarded moment he let fall some expressions which revealed the true state of his feelings towards me. They would have seemed mere words of compliment in another, but Paul was so different from other men—the men of the world that I had known—so truthful and upright, I never thought of doubting him. I was silent. I loved this man as I had never before deemed possible I could love, and I could no more help loving him than the little flowers can help turning towards the light; but I wanted a true, stanch friend, and not a lover. I had put far away from me all thoughts of lover and husband a long while ago. I knew they were not for me, and now I must tell him the whole bitter truth, and push the sweet cup, untasted, from my lips. I did not hesitate long, but I despised myself for doing it even for a moment. But when I had told him, he turned to me eagerly and asked if that were all there was in the way of my loving him; for he had known this much of my history soon after I came to the village, "and so far from its estranging me from you, Lucia," he continued earnestly, "it was the all-powerful magnet which drew me nearer and nearer to you. After you have learned something of my past life, you will understand better than you do now how natural it is that it should be so."

I need scarcely say what my answer was; when we parted we were betrothed lovers. My heart was filled with a strange, sweet happiness. I had never thought to be loved thus. I was like a poor wandering outcast, shut from the light and warmth of pleasant hearths and homes, when suddenly some hospitable door is thrown open for her, and some kind voice bids her enter in and rest and be comforted forevermore. We were very happy. Paul seemed like a different being; he was no longer the sad, taciturn student that he appeared when I first met him; and my heart was so filled with contentment that I sought not to enter into his past. The present was all sufficing. I cared not to look beyond.

Only a little while—a few brief, happy weeks—and then the deep gloom, the unutterable woe came over him again, and covered him as with a pall. It came between us, it isolated him from me, and built up an icy wall around him. I would not suffer it to be so long; I loved him, and my love made me dare all things; I had a right to know his trouble, and I would not be denied. And thus it was that his burden became mine, and I was happy no more. There are some men and women in the world, who, by their sensitive organization, their delicate, sympathetic natures, seem always destined to suffer; and we have saints and martyrs with us still, whose lives have never been canonized save in the hearts of God's poor and outcast children; but their kingdom is not of this world.

Paul Verree was the only son of a Virginia planter. Possessed of great wealth, respected and honored far and wide, the son of such a father, to a superficial observer, would certainly be considered an enviable being; and yet, with his refined and delicate temperament, his loving, affectionate heart, and his strong sense of truth and justice, a more miserable, unhappy man did not exist than Paul Verree. His mother died while he was still an infant, and the only mother he had known was an old and faithful slave, called Zara, who for nine years had the sole charge of him. Zara was a pious and good woman, whose hair had grown white with sorrow, for she had suffered much. In her younger days she had been blest with a husband and three children, whom she loved as dearly as the freest woman in the land. Her husband was owned by a neighboring planter. One day he was sold, and sent to a sugar plantation in Louisiana. The poor wife never knew it until he had been gone some weeks. No one pitied her but her young mistress. She alone wept with her, and tried to comfort her. She told Paul if it had not been for his mother, mere girl though she was at the time, she felt that she should have gone mad. Afterwards she saw her children taken from her, and her mistress pleaded long and earnestly for them to leave the poor mother one, only one; but in vain she pleaded, they were sold, *all* sold. She forgot what happened then; she believed she was not quite herself for a year or more.

When her young mistress married, her father gave her Zara as a wedding gift; he knew his tender-hearted daughter was the only one who could manage poor Zara—and what, with heavy debts and bad management, there was very little else for the young bride to have. When her mistress died, she left Paul to Zara's care, and the child warmed her old, frozen heart into something like life. In a year or two, Mr. Verree was married again, and to a gay, dashing woman, who cared for nothing but pleasure and gayety, so that Paul was given up solely to the care of his foster-mother. She made him her idol. All the wealth of her warm, affectionate heart was lavished upon him without stint. She confided to him all her joys and sorrows, and above and over all, she strove to impart to him the deep, earnest, and undying hate of that accursed system of which she had so long been a suffering victim. She read the Bible to him, making diligent search for everything relating to oppression. For this reason, perhaps, she found nutriment more refreshing to her soul in the Old Testament than in the New. She loved to dwell upon the history of Moses, the deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage, to ponder over the lofty and burning denunciations of Issiah, and the dark and gloomy utterances of Jeremiah. And as she read in a wild and fervent manner, with passionate gesticulations, swaying her body to and fro, she made her rude and simple comments in a way which could not fail to impress deeply the sensitive heart of a child. And Paul listened and believed. Thus it came to pass that Paul Verree was early brought to know the great sin which cursed the broad and fertile lands of his fathers; and the solitary life he lived only served to deepen the impression. He knew very little of his step-mother. Her Winters were passed in the city, and her Summers at fashionable watering-places. She was of a jealous and suspicious disposition, and led her husband an unquiet life, while she entirely ignored the existence of his child.

When Paul reached his tenth year, a great sorrow came upon him. Mrs. Verree, after spending an unusually gay Winter at the Capital, had found it necessary to return home in order to recruit her enfeebled health and shattered forces. But she was not suffered to remain there long unmolested. Merchants and milliners, dressmakers and jewelers, had all assisted in adorning the little butterfly, and they insisted upon being paid for their labors. It was vexatious that she should be so annoyed when she came into the country for a little rest; and her husband, instead of sympathizing with her as a husband should, did nothing but scold and upbraid her with her reckless extravagance. Then the slaves trembled; and it was whispered among them that some of their number were to be sold, for the debts must be paid. By and by the report reached Zara's ears, and she folded her arms sorrowfully, and told Paul she should not be with him a great while longer. He did not give much heed to her saying this, for she was one who talked familiarly and almost lovingly of death, looking forward to it as a blessed release from all her troubles. But, one morning, he awoke from a pleasant dream, and found a strange face bending over him. He called loudly for Zara, but she came not at his call. They had taken her from him in the night, and he never looked upon her face again. Paul wept bitterly when he learned the truth, and refused to be comforted. He cried out loudly against the cruelty and injustice of selling an old and faithful servant who had grown gray in their service. His father tried to appease the child's grief and indignation with soothing words, but all to no purpose. To his most plausible excuses, his most specious arguments, Paul had but one reply to make: "It was cruel, it was unjust, to sell old Zara; and he would never forgive him for doing it." The violence of his grief affected his health, and the family physician advised his father to send him away from home for a time.

At this juncture, Mrs. Mayly, his mother's sister, offered to take charge of him. She resided in Boston, and with her Paul lived for several years. Under the influence of a change of scene, and the novelty of a school-boy's life, his sorrow became less poignant; but he never forgot old Zara; he cherished her memory with a religious reverence, and his hatred of slavery deepened with his years, and became more and more intensified, as he learned to think and reason for himself. In his brief visits to his old home, he passed much of his time with the slaves. They looked upon him as a patron saint, and were continually coming to him for advice and assistance. Never yet, though he might be unable to help them, had his sympathy and kindness failed them in their hour of need. But, though Paul was loved and honored by the slaves, he met with but little favor in his own home. Mr. Verree was a firm believer in the infallibity of the "divine institution," and his son did not hesitate to declare that he would never own a slave; he believed it to be his duty to fit them for freedom, and he would never rest until they were free. And thus the estrangement between father and son became more marked as the years passed on.

When the time came for Paul to enter college, Mr. Verree wished him to take his degree in some college of note, whose honors would confer credit upon him. Paul sturdily refused to do so; he would either graduate in —— College, which was hated and despised by the Southerners, on account of its liberal principles, or he would remain at home and prosecute his great work among the slaves. Sooner than permit him to do this, his father reluctantly granted his wish. I think Paul's fixed resolve to visit this institution grew out of the strong desire he had to test the truth of what he had so often been told by the slaveholders, viz., that the African race were incapable of great mental improvement—that by nature they were, and always would remain, an inferior race. I noticed, soon after I became acquainted with him, that he seemed to have chosen his few friends almost exclusively from those of African descent, and that he was indefatigible in his efforts to elevate them in the social as well as the intellectual scale.

But the cause of the dark cloud which overhung his life and shut out all the sunlight yet remains to be told. The slaves whom he loved so devotedly, and for whose sake he was willing to sacrifice everything he held dear in life, were being sold yearly to supply his gay stepmother with the means of pursuing her life of pleasure, and he was utterly powerless to prevent it. And thus it was, that Paul Verree wrestled in spirit with a great grief, an undying torment; the sins of his forefathers fell with crushing weight upon his upright soul, and made him haggard, pale, sad and old, before it was time.

Eloquence is to be obtained by the full culture, the general enriching, of the heart and mind. An enlarged spirit, which has reached grand convictions, will utter itself with a commanding style. There is never true eloquence, except when great principles and sentiments have entered into the substance of the soul and become incorporated with the whole being.—*Channing.*

A TRIBUTE TO COL. ROBERT G. SHAW.

From The Evening Post.

My heart is full of sorrow and sympathy, which seek expression. From the beginning of the war I have watched the course of Col. Robert G. Shaw with intense and peculiar interest; for I knew his character abounded in those noble and excellent qualities of which the country and the times stand so much in need; and always I have feared that he might be cut off in the morning of his beautiful life.

Then that Fifty-fourth regiment, offering their lives with such cheerful bravery, to achieve the freedom of their cruelly oppressed race! If only their lives had been sacrificed, we should have been sad, but exultant withal; for this existence is brief at best, and self-sacrifice is holy and immortal. But to think of those brave, devoted men, after their exhaustion by hunger, fatigue and the hard labors of battle, sent to Charleston, to be insulted and tortured by ferocious tyrants, and then sold into slavery! Father of Mercies! how this thought agonizes just and humane souls!

As for the mean, vindictive answer to the request for the body of their brave young Colonel, it will produce the effect that all such manifestations do. It will impress more deeply than ever upon the minds of the people how infernal the spirit of slavery is. To the pure and heroic soul, which had just parted from that beautiful body, it could do no harm; and his immediate family have principles that will lift them above the possibility of feeling degraded by suffering with, and dying with, and being buried with God's despised and persecuted poor. They will not forget the words, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me."

I was thinking this as I walked homeward, after reading the daily news. I reflected how every inch of freedom had been won for the human race by the sacrifice of thousands of precious lives. There passed before me a long procession of men,

"For God, for Truth, for Freedom's sake,
Content the bitter cup to take,
And silently, in fearless faith,
Bowing their noble souls to death."

I remembered how despotism had always delighted to make their martyrdom look mean, and in how many signal instances the effort had failed. When priests and centurions crucified Jesus between thieves, they satisfied the arrogance and prejudice of his day, and thought they had effectually disgraced him. But instead thereof they handed themselves down to everlasting disgrace; while the cross, which they regarded with such proud contempt, floats through the world's history transfigured with holy life.

I was pondering these thoughts so deeply that I started involuntarily as my eyes turned toward the setting sun. A dark cloud rested on the horizon, and downward through it meandered a narrow line of intensely brilliant sunlight, precisely in the form of an S. When we are overwhelmed with some great sorrow I suppose, we are all more or less inclined to be superstitious; for at such moments the soul, in its utter helplessness, looks tremblingly beyond this dark vale of shadows, and implores some light from Heaven. The splendid vision was soon wavering and sinking behind a veil of mist. But while it lasted it lifted my soul out of its deep despondency; for it seemed as if the dark gate through which that lovely young soul had passed had been transiently left ajar, and I had caught a glimpse of the immortal glory into which he had entered.

My state of feeling will not seem to you exaggerated, for you are probably aware how much the cause of Freedom owes to several members of the Shaw family; and that, too, at a time when anti-slavery was not beginning to be respectable as it now is, but when no wealth or standing could protect its advocates from the neglect and sarcasm of society. The money they gave so liberally was the smallest portion of the aid they afforded. With moral courage beyond all praise, they stood side by side with a despised band of reformers against the world of wealth and fashion to which they by position belonged; and the crowning beauty of all was that it was done simply and naturally, without the slightest indication of conscious merit.

The capacity to do this, I think, they derived, by the blessing of God, from the founder of the family, Robert G. Shaw, the best of the "merchant princes" of Boston. When I say that he was a thoroughly honest man, I do not mean to limit the significance of the term to its relation with dollars and cents. He had an honest moral sense, which pervaded all he did and thought. He never espoused the anti-slavery cause, perhaps from habitual prudence, perhaps because he was getting too old to throw himself into new agitations. But it needed no great insight to conjecture what such a man thought of a system that robbed poor laborers of their wages, and added thereto the blasphemy of calling itself an ordination of Providence. A short time before his death he said to Col. Shaw, and another grandson who was present, then mere lads, "My children, I am leaving the stage of action, and you are entering upon it. I exhort you to use your example and influence against intemperance and slavery." As the last great change approached, he seemed dreamily to pass into a land of vision, and his lips murmured words of recognition to departed friends and relatives, as if he already saw them in the spirit world. One of these murmured recognitions indicated the kindly sympathies of his great, good heart. "Ah," said he, "here is an old negro just come into this world. He has been a slave. Poor fellow! how much he has suffered."

If some of his children inherited from him the qualities which prompted them to espouse an unpopular cause, and to stand by it steadfastly, for righteousness' sake, it is likely that he, on his part, had his own honest convictions deepened by their open and uniform testimony. Doubtless the state of mind revealed in these last hours may be partly traced to the influence of a noble son and two noble daughters. I have before me now a vision of one of those sisters, which I hope to find in my gallery of choicest pictures when I exchange this world of false shows for the higher world of realities. She was presiding over a table at one of our annual anti-slavery fairs, according to her usual custom. On her right hand was the table of a very intelligent, lady-like person, whose complexion was brown. It was a rainy day, and few purchasers came. She remarked to me that she seemed to be of no use, for one could easily tend several tables. I replied, "But you are of great use. For a person of your position to be merely seen here, in close proximity with one of a race that is socially proscribed, is of incalculable moral use." "Is it?" said she, in her quiet, unaffected way. "Do let me move nearer to her, then." And, after some show of arranging things on her table, she moved her chair farther to the right. It was to the right in more senses than one. How I loved and reverenced her! As she uttered those simple, unpretending words it seemed to me that her countenance was irradiated with moral beauty. I looked at them both, as they sat side by side, and the picture was inwardly daguerreotyped, which I hope to see outwardly in my gallery above. It was a charming picture; for they were fine specimens of different types of the human family. She of the fairest Anglo-Saxon type, the other with the warmly-tinted complexion and large, lustrous dark eyes of the Anglo-African.

Young Col. Shaw had many healthy influences to shield him from the corrupting and weakening effects of worldly prosperity. He inherited from his excellent grandfather that innate honesty of character which is far more valuable than bank shares and broad acres; and instead of being diminished by transmission through his parents, they confirmed and developed it by the largest and wisest moral culture.

At the outbreak of this war he stood on the threshold of life, with the fairest and happiest prospects spread before him. An only son, dearly and deservedly beloved by his parents and by a group of sympathizing sisters, a favorite with a numerous band of relatives and friends, to whom he was endeared by his gentle, refined and conscientious nature, no person who saw him before the war could have imagined that it would be his destiny to die, sword in hand, storming a fort, amid flashes of lightning and roar of artillery. But when the free institutions of the country he loved were brought into peril by traitors he did not pause to dally with the allurements of life. He marched at once, with the New York Seventh, to the protection of the Capital. As a soldier his bravery and firmness were only equalled by his kindness. He took the gentlest care of wounded comrades, and evinced a woman's thoughtful tenderness in cutting locks of hair from the dead to solace the bleeding hearts of distant relatives.

When the raising of colored troops was proposed, his well-known character caused him to be at once singled out as a desirable officer. When the great moral influence he could thus exert was urged upon him, he did, as his noble-hearted aunt had done when a similar suggestion was made to her, he moved to the right immediately. His parents were well aware of the terrible risks he would incur, but they conquered all personal considerations, and cheerfully advised him to follow the promptings of his own conscience. There was a tie of peculiar tenderness which bound him to this life. I allude to his young bride only to show how much he sacrificed to a sense of duty. But this is sacred ground; and with reverent sympathy I throw a veil over the unspeakable agony of that separation. Whether the parting exhortation of his honored grandfather recurred to his mind, and helped him to form his decision with such solemn, self-sacrificing heroism, I know not. But he took the dangerous post without any other hesitation than that which arose from a modest distrust of his own experience and ability. In what manner of spirit he undertook this great responsibility may be inferred from the following little incident: While the Fifty-fourth were being drilled at Readville, many people visited the encampment. Among them were two intelligent, well-bred colored strangers, who brought letters of introduction to the Colonel. When he invited them to dine with him, they thanked him, but respectfully declined. Being urged, they said: "You are aware, Colonel Shaw, that there is a prejudice against our complexion." "All gentlemen are the same to me," he replied, "whatever their complexion may be." He seated them at his table, and treated them with the same unpatronizing courtesy with which he would have treated the Duke of Argyle. His letters to friends at that time were filled with expressions of pleasure at the number of intelligent colored people with whom he was brought into contact. He seemed to rejoice over all indications of their progress, as a generous heart does over the good luck of a brother who has been kept down by misfortune. The good character the regiment obtained in the neighborhood of the encampment was a source of great gratification to him, and in a letter from James's Island, received almost simultaneously with the tidings of his death, he expressed delight at the high terms in which everybody spoke of the bravery of the Fifty-fourth.

I have said that three of the immediate descendants of Robert G. Shaw fought the moral battle against slavery with quiet but steadfast heroism for many years, and the two grandsons, who received his parting injunction, have followed their courageous example in the sterner warfare that is now waging. One of them, a worthy son of her who moved so promptly to the right side, is battling manfully in the ranks of Freedom. God grant that his life may be spared to see the existence of this republic secured on the only safe and permanent basis—the utter extinction of slavery.

There was another cousin of Colonel Shaw's, by the mother's side, who, like him, passed away in the storm of battle from a world which had great attractions for him. I remember Theodore Parkman when he was a vision of infant beauty. His exquisitely fair complexion, blue eyes, and shower of golden ringlets at once brought to mind the words of Pope Gregory, "*Non Angli, sed Angeli.*" Afterward, I heard of him as a gentle, refined, highly cultured young man, just returned from Europe, with qualifications to render him an ornament to any path of life his taste might suggest. But the trump of war had sounded, and like his noble-hearted cousins he left the flowery paths of life without a murmur, and relinquished all his high aspirations and tender associations, to serve his suffering country in her hour of need. His body lies in North Carolina under a tree on which a comrade hastily carved his initials.

"Eyes of light and lips of roses,
Such as Hylas wore,
Over all that curtain closes
Which shall rise no more!
Who shall offer youth and beauty
On the wasting shrine
Of a stern and lofty duty,
With a faith like thine?"

When I gazed on that remarkable sunset, which seemed like a gleam of eternal glory beyond the dark curtain, I felt that the young hero for whom my tears were falling was not a lonely stranger in that realm of light. I seemed to see the kindly grandfather placing his hand in benediction on his head, and gentle cousin Theodore greeting him with love. Many of the Fifty-fourth had followed their brave leader through the dark gate, and among them the poor old negro who, years ago, had been seen in vision, recognized also his kindred and descendants. They all smiled on each other, and when memory glanced backward to the loved ones in the world they had left so suddenly, the genial patriarch said: "Be not disturbed; the separation is but for a moment, they will follow."

Meanwhile, the voices of mourners on earth struggled with tears while they sang:

"Peace be with thee, O our brother,
In the spirit-land!
Vainly look we for another
In thy place to stand.
Unto Truth and Freedom giving
All thy early powers,
Be thy virtues with the living,
And thy spirit ours!"

L. M. C.

NOT SLAVERY AND A TRUCE, BUT EMANCIPATION AND PEACE.

BY MATTIE GRIFFITH.

To the Editor of The Independent:

Sir: Your readers may probably find interest in a brief statement—which I desire to make—of the origin and single object of an Association of ladies lately organized in this city under the title of the "Women's Loyal National League."

This League, which pledges its most warm and earnest influence to support "the National government in its prosecution of the war for Freedom and for the restoration of the National Unity," has thought that it can best redeem its pledge by confining its efforts to a single, practical point, that is, to the one object of procuring a Petition to be signed by one million names and upward—to be presented to the next Congress—praying for a speedy passage of an act emancipating all persons of "African descent held to slavery in the United States."

The members of the League find it to be the opinion of those best experienced in the motives which usually actuate legislative bodies, that such an overwhelming evidence of public sentiment—if it could be obtained and presented to Congress—would be likely to seriously influence its action. And they also believe of all the public measures probably to come before the next Congress, none will exceed in importance an act of immediate Emancipation.

They regard such a law in a twofold light. First, as an act of too long delayed justice and humanity, in failing to consummate which this nation can neither ask the blessing of God nor the sympathy of mankind; and again, they regard it as an endorsement and enlargement of the President's noble Proclamation of Emancipation, by which means alone we can obtain that blessing which we regard as second only to freedom—a solid and permanent peace.

We believe with many others that a petition for emancipation is likewise a prayer for peace. We believe that calm, domestic tranquillity can never be reëstablished on a less broad or comprehensive basis. In other words, we believe it is only by doing God's holy work of mercy (nay, less than mercy—justice) that we can ever again sit down in sweet security under the shade of "our own vine and fig-tree, with none to make us afraid."

We greatly fear a temporizing policy. We fear it because many good men and women—sometimes, perhaps, from honest motives—may be tempted to advocate it. We have witnessed, with sinking hearts, month after month, the dreadful sufferings, the terrible loss of life, and the long line of countless miseries attendant upon war. We have realized, as only those living amid civil strife *can* realize, the evil passions, the crimes, the desolation that follow in its desperate track. We have felt, as never before, what an outrage it is upon civilization and Christianity. All this presses heavily upon our hearts, and the quick impulse is to put an end at once and for ever to these wholesale slaughterings—no matter how priceless the cost may be.

Our impulse is to sacrifice the present to the future—to patch up a peace in our day, no matter what the result to those who shall come after us; nay, to ourselves, perhaps, when a few short years shall have passed. The impulse is, no doubt, strong even among many of those who generously gave fathers, brothers, husbands, for the country's defense, to see these war-worn soldiers return once more to quiet homes—under any conditions short of national shame. The members of the Women's Loyal League yield to none in their earnest longing for peace. But they have never been able to believe that there *can* be peace, except in the shape of a few years' truce, so long as the cause which produced the first rebellion remains uneradicated to produce a second. They are willing to suffer yet more—they are willing to endure to the end, so they can but see the poison-weed extirpated, and peace—when it shall be made—based upon a firm rock. They think it much easier to crush this first rebellion, with its powers now so crippled by recent losses, and the blockade cramping all its resources, and greatly dispirited by the disasters of the last month, than to encounter a second after several years of breathing-time shall have given renewed strength and spirit, and afforded time sufficient for a fresh and more terrible contest.

Thus the members of the League believe that an Act of Congress pledging the Nation to Emancipation as the great preliminary of Peace, is of all public measures the one which the true friends of national unity should the most earnestly and perseveringly urge.

The League has so far received through its correspondence, from all parts of the Northern States, the most encouraging evidences of zeal and interest in this noble cause. The one difficulty, which yet restricts their efforts, is an insufficiency of funds. I feel quite assured that if the true and zealous friends, whether it be of the poor oppressed, persecuted, and innocent colored race, or of the cause of Peace, but estimated at their actual value in practice the results of this effort to bring public sentiment to bear upon Congress, the means would not long be wanting to enable the ladies of the League to proceed, with the speed and energy so great an undertaking demands, in the self-imposed task they have already successfully commenced.

THEODORE AND ANGELINA WELD.

[Extract from *The Liberator's* report of the Abington Celebration.]

Mr. Garrison requested that that early soldier of Freedom, Theodore D. Weld, would speak a word to the audience. On taking the platform, Mr. Weld was warmly applauded.

Mr. Weld said: I do not know any one thing which even we Abolitionists lack so much as a true sympathy with the black man. The reason why it is necessary to hold anti-slavery meetings, is because we do not feel our intimate relationship to all human beings. We should be in perfect sympathy with God and the creatures he has made. Just at this moment, I don't know anything more practical, more important, than the knowledge of what the black man is; to have a profounder sympathy with what *man* is, and to ally ourselves more perfectly with humanity. The best literature for us for the present, is Phillips's Lecture on Toussaint L'Ouverture, and this book by Wm. Wells Brown, entitled "The Black Man."

We must grapple this rebellion, and thrust it down. This is the duty of the hour. We must destroy the rebellion. Thus only can we do our part to overthrow *all* oppression, all aristocracy, all caste. We are not fighting for ourselves or for the slave, merely or mainly. The battle of the human race, of liberty for all peoples, is now waging.

We must not mistake this matter. There are many tyrants to fall. We want *tyranny* to be destroyed.

Mrs. Angelina Grimke Weld was then earnestly called for. She said: Only those who go down into the heart of slavery can know what its horrors are. When I began to oppose slavery, I thought its abolition would be a much longer process. But the South has helped us. She has gone forward to expedite the work. She has not been willing to await the slow working of principles, the method of abolition adopted by the North, but in her rebellion had laid the axe at the root of slavery's tree.

This, my friends, is a cause worth dying for. I have rejoiced in the length of this war. The defeats of the North have been the salvation of the nation. Not that I like war, but I know that the land needs its scourgings, and in no other way can the demon of slavery, which has become to the South its God and its religion, be cast out.

THE FUNERAL OF A NEGRO SOLDIER.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

New Orleans, Saturday, Aug. 1, 1863.

The most extraordinary local event that has ever been seen within our borders, and, I think, one of the most extraordinary exhibitions brought forth by this rebellion, was the funeral of Capt. Andre Cailloux, Company E, First Louisiana National Guards. Here in this Southern emporium was performed a funeral ceremony that for numbers and impressiveness never had its superior in this city; and it was originated and carried through in honor of a gallant soldier of the despised race, to enslave which, it is said, will soothe this State back into the Union.

Capt. Cailloux was a fine-looking mulatto, and, in his military dress, had an imposing appearance. I remember seeing him at Gen. Banks's headquarters, in company with at least fifteen of our prominent military officers, and he was a marked personage among them all. In the celebrated assault and repulse on Port Hudson by Gen. Banks, Capt. Cailloux fell at the head of his company, on the 17th of May last, while gallantly leading it on to the enemy's works. His body, along with others of the National regiments, after the battle lay within deadly reach of the rebel sharpshooters, and all attempts to recover the body were met with a shower of minie bullets. Thus guarded by the enemy, or I might say thus honored by the attention, the body lay exposed until the surrender of the place, the 8th of July, when it was recovered and brought to this city, to receive the astonishing ovation connected with the last rites of humanity.

The arrival of the body developed to the white population here that the colored people had powerful organizations in the form of civic societies, as the "Friends of the Order," of which Capt. Cailloux was a prominent member, received the body, and had the coffin containing it, draped with the American flag, exposed in state in the commodious hall. Around the coffin flowers were strewn in the greatest profusion, and candles were kept continually burning. All the rites of the Catholic Church were strictly complied with. The guard paced silently to and fro, and altogether it presented as solemn a scene as was ever witnessed.

In due time the band of the Forty-second Massachusetts regiment made their appearance, and discoursed the customary solemn airs. The officiating priest, Father Le Maistre, of the church of "St. Rose of Lima"—who has paid not the least attention to the excommunication and denunciations issued against him by the Archbishop of this diocese—then performed the Catholic service for the dead. After the regular services, he ascended to the President's chair and delivered a glowing and eloquent eulogy on the virtues of the deceased. He called upon all present to offer themselves, as Cailloux had done, martyrs to the cause of justice, freedom and good government. It was a death the proudest might envy.

Immense crowds of colored people had by this time gathered around the building, and the streets leading thereto were rendered almost impassable. Two companies of the Sixth Louisiana (colored) regiment, from their camp on the Company Canal, were there to act as an escort, and Esplanade street, for more than a mile, was lined with colored societies, both male and female, in open order, waiting for the hearse to pass through.

After a short pause, a sudden silence fell upon the crowd, the band commenced playing a dirge, and the body was brought from the hall on the shoulders of eight soldiers, escorted by six members of the Society and six colored Captains, who acted as pall-bearers. The corpse was conveyed to the hearse through a crowd composed of both white and black people, and in silence profound as death itself. Not a sound was heard save the mournful music of the band, and not a head in all that vast multitude but was uncovered.

The procession then moved off in the following order: The hearse containing the body, with Capt. J. W. Ringgold, W. B. Barrett, S. J. Wilkinson, Eugene Mailleur, J. A. Glea and A. St. Leger (all of whom, we believe, belong to the Second Louisiana Native Guards) and six members of "The Friends of the Order," as pall-bearers; about a hundred, convalescent, sick and wounded colored soldiers, the two companies of the Sixth regiment, a large number of colored officers of all native Guard regiments, the carriages containing Capt. Cailloux's family, and a number of army officers; winding up with a large number of private individnals and the following named societies:

Friends of Order.
Society of Economy and Mutual Assistance.
United Brethren.
Arts and Mechanics Association.
Free Friends.
Good Shepherd Conclave, No. 2.
Artisans' Brotherhood.
Good Shepherd Conclave, No. 1.
Union Sons' Relief.
Perseverance Society.
Ladies of Bon Secours.
La Fleur de Marie.
Saint Rose of Lima.
The Children of Mary Society.
Saint Angela Society.
The Immaculate Conception Society.
The Sacred Union Society.
The Children of Jesus.
Saint Veronica Society.
Saint Alphonsus Society.
Saint Joachim Society.
Star of the Cross.
Saint Theresa Society.
Saint Eulalia Society.
Saint Magdalen Society.
God Protect Us Society.
United Sisterhood.
Angel Gabriel Society.
Saint Louis Roi Society.
Saint Benoit Society.
Benevolence Society.
Well Beloved Sisters' Society.
Saint Peter Society.
Saint Michael Archangel Society.
Saint Louis de Gonzague Society.
Saint Ann Society.
The Children of Moses.

After moving through the principal down-town street, the body was taken to the Bienville street cemetery, and there interred with military honors due his rank.

Capt. Cailloux was a native of this city, aged 43 years, and was one of the first to raise a company under the call of Gen. Butler for colored volunteers. *The Union* of this city, a paper of staunch loyalty, which is devoted to the interests of the colored people, speaking of Capt. Cailloux, says: "By his gallant bearing, his gentlemanly deportment, his amiable disposition, and his capacities as a soldier—having received a very good education—he became the idol of his men, and won the respect and confidence of his superior officers. He was a true type of the Louisianian. In this city, where he passed his life, he was loved and respected by all who knew him.

"In Capt. Cailloux the cause of the Union and freedom has lost a valuable friend. Capt. Cailloux, defending the integrity of the sacred cause of liberty, vindicated his race from the opprobrium with which it was charged. He leaves a wife and several children, who will have the consolation that he died the death of the patriot and the righteous

The long pageant has passed away, but there is left deeply impressed on the minds of those who witnessed this extraordinary sight, the fact that thousands of people born in slavery, who had by the events of the rebellion been disenthralled enough to appear in the streets of New Orleans bearing to the tomb a man of their own color, who had fallen gallantly fighting for the flag and his country—a man who had sealed with his blood the inspiration he received from Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation proclamation. The thousands of the unfortunates who followed his remains had the flag of the Union in miniature form waving in their hands, or pinned tastefully on their persons.

We would ask, can these people ever again be subjected to slavery? Are these men, who have been regenerated by wearing the United States uniform—these men, who have given their race to our armies to fight our would-be oppressors, are these people, can these people ever again be handed over to the taskmaster? Would a government that would do such a thing be respected by the world, be honored of God? Could the Christianized people of the globe have witnessed the funeral of Capt. Cailloux, there would have been but one sentiment called forth, and that is this—that the National government can make no compromise on this slave question; it is too late to retreat; the responsibility has been taken, and the struggle must go on until there is not legally a slave under the folds of the American flag.

FRIENDS REFUSING TO FIGHT.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

Philadelphia, Aug. 6, 1863.

The leading particulars of one of the most remarkable events in this war have just been communicated to me. You know that many of the Society of Friends have long resided in North Carolina, and that a fundamental article of their faith is a refusal to take up arms under any circumstances whatever. In the early stages of the rebellion the rebel powers of North Carolina, well knowing their peaceful principles, permitted them to pass unmolested, though known to be unconditional Union men. But as time went on disaster to the rebellion succeeded to disaster, men were captured, killed or disabled to so fearful an extent that every one out of the army must be brought into it.

Early this year the conscription fell upon the Friends. In one neighborhood, some twelve of them were drafted. In accordance with their well known principles, they refused to join the army. But everywhere the reign of terror prevailed, and they were forced into the ranks. Here muskets were given to them, but every man of them refused even to touch the weapons. Every conceivable insult and outrage was heaped upon them; they were tied up, starved and whipped. Still they remained firm to their conscientious convictions, and refused to fight. Finally, the muskets were actually strapped to their bodies.

One of these Friends was singled out as especially obnoxious, and was whipped unmercifully. The officer in charge was lawless and brutal, and on one occasion ordered him to be shot as an example to others. He called out a file of men to shoot him. While his executioners were drawn up before him, standing within twelve feet of their victim, the latter, raising his eyes to heaven, and elevating his hands, cried out in a loud voice: "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." Instantly came the order to